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JOURNAL

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VOL. X DECEMBER, 1940 NO. 2

Some Recent Studies in the Kinetics of Reactions in Solution.

(A Review)

BY

S. V. ANANTAKRISHNAN.

I

The first observation in the field of reaction kinetics in solution was made by Wilhelmy (1), who studied the rate of inversion of cane sugar. Systematic investigations in the field, however, are of comparatively recent origin. The earliest fundamental law was enunciated by Guldberg and Waage (2) and this law of Mass Action has been thoroughly tested by experiment.

Early in the numerous publications dealing with the velocities, it was noticed that temperature had a profound influence on the rate and the first important attempt to explain the high temperature coefficient was made by Svante Arrhenius (3). The much discussed radiation theory of Chemical Reactivity (4) followed twenty years later and, though it gave an impetus to the work, had to be ultimately abandoned in favour of a modified Arrhenius equation.

The basic idea in the Arrhenius postulate is the formation of an activated molecule, the energy of activation of which may be defined by the equation,

$$k = se^{-E/RT}$$

It is implict here that the energy of activation is independent of temperature. For purposes of calculating this energy of activation two methods have been developed, the advances being essentially a post-war one.

Hinshelwood (5) and School have very successfully developed the idea of activation by collision. From the work of Clerk Maxwell, it is well known that in any system of molecules there is a definite distribution of velocities. Similarly, there can be a distribution of energies arising from continued impact. Obviously, this energy can be in different degrees of freedom, rotational and vibrational or translational. Since we do not know what to assume for internal phases of molecular motion, we assume the second alternative and the probability of two colliding molecules having an energy equal to the energy of activation will be the usual exponential term. Hinshelwood has shown that if n quadratic terms are involved in defining the energy, this is given by

$$\frac{e^{-E/RT}(E/RT)^{\frac{1}{2}n-1}}{(\frac{1}{2}n-1)}$$

For collisional purposes, two "square terms" for the translational energy of each of the colliding molecules are used.

In the ideal system, every collision between two molecules having the energy E results in reaction, but in practice, it has been found from numerous gas reactions that the more general reaction velocity equation should be,

$$k = PZ\, e^{-E/RT}$$

where P is a "probability" or "steric" factor and Z the number of collisions. Allowing for $\frac{1}{2}n-1$ square terms for the degrees of freedom involved, this becomes,

$$k = PZ \frac{e^{-E/RT}(E/RT)^{\frac{1}{2}n-1}}{(\frac{1}{2}n-1)}$$

Attempts to translate these expressions derived for gas reactions to reactions in solutions by Christiansen and by Norrish indicated considerable discrepancies that could only be explained by assuming a deactivation by collision with solvent molecules. Though several correction terms have been suggested, none of the alternatives are satisfactory and, as an approximation, only the gas expression is generally used.

Apart from the collision method with its approach from Kinetic theory, a new method has been developed in recent years by Wigner, La Mer, Rodebush, Eyring and Polanyi. This is the now familiar 'Transition state' method. Chemical reaction involves the breaking of bonds and the formation of new ones. During this transformation, it is not unreasonable to assume an intermediate stage which has neither the characteristics of the old nor those of the new. In the collision theory, this activated complex may either lead to the products or revert back to the original reactants, while the new concept allows of change only in one direction. In the formation of the products, the energy expended is a minimum and represents the activation energy. This energy may be calculated on the basis of the internal energy as a function of position, taking mutual interaction also into account. These calculations involve the solution of the Schrodinger wave equation with certain simplifications. Assuming the nuclei to be fixed, the electronic energy is approximately equal to the potential energy for various nuclear configurations, the earliest path from initial to final molecular configuration can be determined, the energy of activation being the minimum height in the path. The fundamental problem in these computations of electronic energy is the finding of the relation between the inter-atomic distance and the energy of the system. In the construction of these energy functions, an empirical equation due to Morse (6) has been of considerable help in the treatment of complex molecules. With simple diatomic molecules, the potential energy curves have been calculated from a full knowledge of the quantum numbers and infra-red frequencies but the complexity of spectra rules out this method for other molecules. Morse's equation, which is used in these semi-empirical calculations of activation energy is

$$E = D' \left[e^{-2a(r-r_o)} - 2e^{-a(r-r_o)} \right]$$

where E = energy, D' = a modified heat of dissociation,

a = a constant, r = interatomic distance and

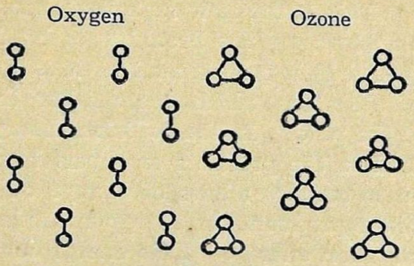
r_o = normal distance.

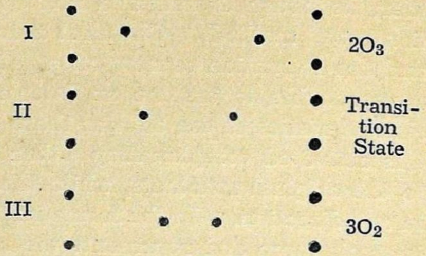
The inter-atomic distance in the normal molecule r_0 may be obtained from X-ray data or from Infra-red absorption spectra. D' differs from the ordinary heat of dissociation D by the "zero point energy" $h\omega_0/2$, a value that may be determined from Raman spectra or from a complete analysis of the Band spectra. The constant a is defined by the equation

$$a = 0{\cdot}1227\omega_0\sqrt{\mu/D'}$$

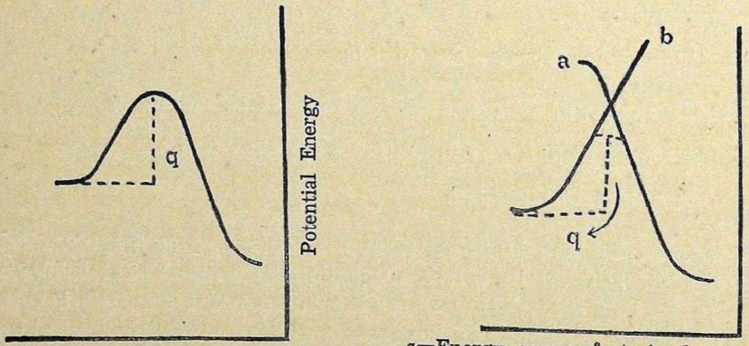
where 0·1227 is a general constant and μ is the reduced mass.

To illustrate this method, we may take up the decomposition of Ozone and the Ethylene-Bromine reaction.





A comparison between Ozone and Oxygen in the condensed state shows that the change consists only of a rearrangement in the pattern; instead of three bonds in each molecule and an intermolecular gap, we have pairs of oxygen molecules and a different gap. In the transformations from one to the other there is the transition state in which the distinction between gap distances and bond distances vanishes. Starting with two ozone molecules, consider the symmetrical horizontal displacement of two oxygen atoms, assuming no interaction between the two. Similarly, starting with three oxygen molecules, pull two oxygen atoms apart, again disregarding interaction between displaced atoms and the oxygen molecules flanking them. Plotting the potential energy against bond distance, we get two curves intersecting at a point, the energy and configuration of which represents the transition state. On account of the quantum mechanical degeneracy of the state, however, the crossing point is not sharp but is rounded off somewhat lower down, the maximum point representing a somewhat lower energy value.



Bond Distance

a=Energy curve of strained oxygen bond.
b=Energy curve of strained ozone bonds.

The application of Morse curves for chemical reactions is well illustrated by the ethylene-bromine reaction (7)

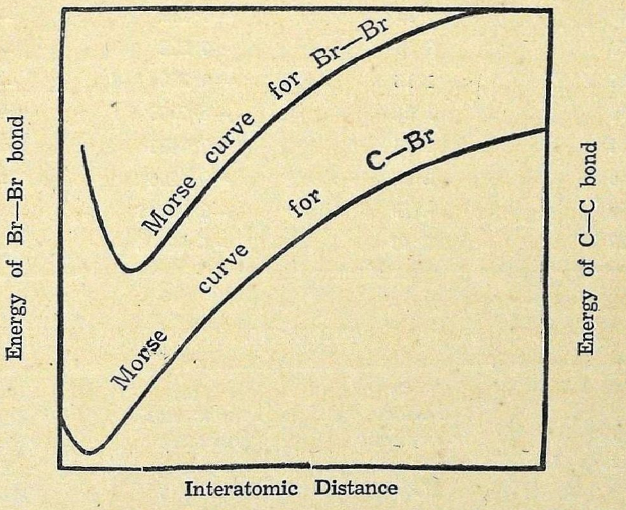
For Bromine, $r_o = 2{\cdot}28\text{Å}$
$\omega_o = 323{\cdot}86\text{cm}^{-1}$.
$D = 45{\cdot}23$ kilocalories.

$D' = D + \frac{1}{2}\,323{\cdot}86/352$ where 352 represents a factor absorbing Planck's constant h and giving energies directly in kilocalories $= 45{\cdot}23 + 0{\cdot}46 = 45{\cdot}69$ kilocalories.

$$a = 0{\cdot}1227 \times 323{\cdot}86 \quad \sqrt{\tfrac{1}{2}{\cdot}79{\cdot}92/45{\cdot}69} = 1{\cdot}98$$

$$E = 45{\cdot}69[e^{-2\times1{\cdot}98(r-2{\cdot}28)} - 2e^{-1{\cdot}98(r-2{\cdot}28)}]$$

By substitution of various values for r the tables and the corresponding Morse curves are obtained for Bromine. Curves for other pairs can also be similarly derived.



Suppose the two bromine atoms, as a molecule, is at the bottom of a topographical map and they approach the two doubly linked carbon atoms of the olefin by moving "northwards." The stable position is represented by circular lines of radius 2·06A° representing the normal C—Br distance. If r_{C-Br} is plotted on the Y axis and r_{Br-Br} on the X axis, the energy of the system may be plotted at right angles to the plane and contour lines of definite energy can be projected on to the plane of the map. For purposes of the semiempirical method, one of the bromine atoms and one of the carbon atoms alone need be considered. The bromine atom moves along the valleys of energy contours. The straight line approach obviously represents a minimum expenditure of energy.

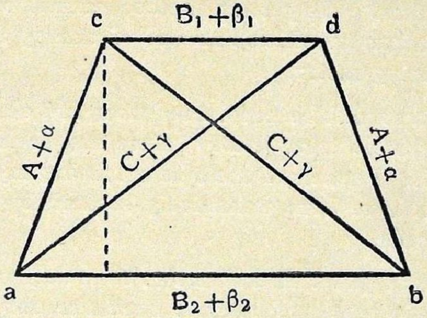
TABLE I.

r	r-r_0	E/D′	D
1·61	—0·47	1·286	58·7
2·05	—0·23	0·658	30·1
2·28	0·0	—1·000	—45·69
2·40	0·12	—0·958	—43·75
2·51	0·23	—0·864	—39·5
2·63	0·35	—0·751	—34·3
2·75	0·47	—0·638	—29·2
2·86	0·58	—0·532	—24·3
2·98	0·70	—0·439	—20·1
3·21	0·93	—0·292	—13·35
3·44	1·16	—0·190	— 8·67
3·79	1·51	—0·0999	—4·57
4·14	1·86	—0·0496	— 2·27
4·49	2·21	—0·0250	— 1·14
5·07	2·79	—0·00796	—0·36
5·77	3·49	—0·00200	— 0·091

TABLE II.

Atom Pair.	r_0 Normal interatomic distance. (A)	ω_0 Fundamental vibration frequency (cm.—1)	D Energy of dissociation (kilogram calories).
C—C	1·54	990	77
C=C	1·38	1,600	122
C≡C	1·21	1,960	200
C—H	1·12	2,930	92
C—I	2·10	497	44
C—Br	2·06	560	58
C—Cl	1·85	660	79
H—H	0·74	4,375	102
H—I	1·62	2,233	66
H—Br	1·42	2,603	85
H—Cl	1·28	2,840	100

The bromine atom has to move from this into the valley that curves round the carbon atoms. The impelling force for this is derived from molecular collisions. For calculating the energy of activation for this reaction, only the binding electrons are involved, the solution being that of a four electron problem.



Consider a polygon abcd in which the lines are drawn at random except that ab and cd are parallel and symmetrical with respect to a central line. The electrostatic and exchange reactions between all possible arrangements of atoms taken two at a time are then calculated for various distances Br—Br and C—Br. The two independent variables are r_1 the distance of separation of Br—Br and C = C pairs and r_2 half the distance between the bromine atoms. Other distances may be calculated from these. It can be shown that the potential energy J which is the sum of the coulombic energy and the exchange energy is equal to

$$J = Q + k = 0{\cdot}14[2(A + \alpha) + (B_1 + \beta_1) \quad + (B_2 + \beta_2) + 2(C + \gamma)]$$

$$+ \frac{0{\cdot}86}{\sqrt{2}}\sqrt{2[(A + \alpha) - (B_1 + \beta_1) - (B_2 + \beta_2)]^2 - 2[(A + \alpha) - 2(C + \gamma]^2}$$

$$+ [B_1 + \beta_1) + (B_2 + \beta_2) - 2(C + \gamma)]^2$$

The energy of activation E is given by the difference between this potential energy and the sum of the dissociation energies of Br—Br and the C—C bonds.

$$E = D_{Br-Br} + D_{C-C} - J$$

The values of E thus obtained are plotted against r_1 and r_2 to give the contour map and the lowest pass between the valleys comes at $r_1=1{\cdot}14$, $r_2=2{\cdot}40$ and gives a value for the Energy of Activation of 23,200 calories for the addition reaction. The relation between structure and the value of E will be considered later.

There are thus two distinct methods of approach to the problem of reaction kinetics but as in all applications of quantum mechanics, the transition state theory is of limited application. As Hinshelwood (8) remarks, " the great value of the transition state method is in causing us to think more deeply about the inter-relationship of thermodynamic and kinetic magnitudes rather than in providing us with an essentially more accurate calculus." As yet the method cannot be applied to chain reactions or to reactions in which removal of energy from the products is the rate determining factor.

The reactions that will be considered now are all approached from the standpoint of the collision theory, since we shall be dealing with complex compounds. Further, I shall be confining my attention to just those reactions that have been extensively studied by the Ingold school during the last decade.

While the mass of qualitative work has been accumulating, the quantitive side of organic reactions has not been the subject of systematic study until recently. An impetus to work on these lines was given by the interpretation of the chemical bond by G. N. Lewis with his concept of a stable duplet and an octet as the basis of chemical linking in general and by the ideas on Polar Molecules that we owe to Debye.* An electronic theory of organic reactions necessitated a kinetic study of familiar and unfamiliar organic reactions. For obvious reasons, the majority of the reactions that have been studied were in solutions, aqueous and nonaqueous, and we may pass on to a consideration of the methods that have been adopted in following the kinetics of the reactions in question. Attention is confined to a few of them and what follows will be a description of studies in nitration, degradation of 'Onium compounds, halogen-olefin additions, ester hydrolysis, and molecular rearrangements.

For measurements of the velocity of a reaction it is obvious that two conditions must be satisfied : the system under investigation should be made unstable in a negligibly short time and the mode of recording the extent of the reaction should also involve a negligibly short period. If the reaction takes a sufficiently long time, the time of mixing will be negligible. The subsequent method of following the reaction will be decided by the nature of the reaction. Some reactions are, however, too rapid for study by following the course of the reaction. If a series of compounds with similar structure are being studied a competitive

* The concept of resonance in recent times has also influenced the development of investigations in this field.

method is found useful. Both these modes of study may be illustrated by taking up some of the reactions.

The reaction that has been studied most thoroughly is the decomposition of the 'Onium compounds. The nature of this reaction enables one to follow the course of the changes by the usual analytical processes, the only precaution being the use of resistance glass for containers.

The study of nitrations (9) has given rise to numerous experimental methods, each making use of different physical properties of the compounds studied. While earlier work on the relative orienting influences of groups in nitration of benzene derivatives made use of para substituted derivatives, it was obvious that mutual interaction of groups were neglected. A more accurate and reliable procedure is to have only one substituent and this has led to the use of competitive method. The nitrations are usually done either with acetyl nitrate in acetic acid or with anhydrous nitric acid in nitromethane solution, the temperature range being 0°—30°C. a limitation arising from reaction velocities and the stability of nitration solutions.

In determining the relative rates of nitrations of say, benzene and toluene, the experimental measurement is of the quantity ratio of the mono-nitration product from which with certain auxiliary data, the relative rates may be calculated. This quantity ratio may be determined by density measurements on mixed mononitration products or by a bromometric method.

If x molecules of benzene and y molecules of toluene are nitrated together in time t to form Y molecules of total nitration product containing 100P molecules of nitrobenzene, it can be shown that

$$k_y/k_x = \log y - \log y_t/\log x - \log x_t$$

$$\text{where } x_t = x - \text{PY}\,;\; y_t = y - \text{Y} + \text{PY}.$$

This equation holds good even if the reaction is incomplete. The nitration product of toluene is a mixture of the three isomerides and the quantitative estimation of this has been carried out by a modified thermal analysis method, making use of the dimorphism of orthonitrotoluene.

If γ represents the "first freezing point," in which the solid phase is paranitrotoluene, β the second freezing point in which the β form of orthonitrotoluene accompanies the para compound in the solid phase and α the "second freezing point" in which α form of the ortho compound accompanies the para in the solid phase, the following empirical equations may be constructed.

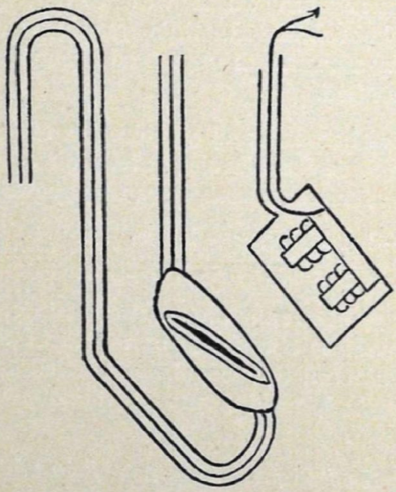
$$\gamma = 71 \cdot 55 - 112\omega - 115\mu$$
$$\beta = -13 \cdot 11 - 3 \cdot 5\omega - 61\mu$$
$$\alpha = -22 \cdot 53 + 2 \cdot 5\omega - 47 \cdot 5\mu$$

where 100ω and 100μ represent the percentages of the ortho and meta isomerides respectively.

If k_y/k_x is the reduced velocity of nitration of toluene the coefficients of activation of the various positions are given by

$$F_{\text{ortho}} = 3\omega k_y/k_x\,; \quad F_{\text{meta}} = 3\mu k_y/k_x\,; \quad F_{\text{para}} = 6\pi k_y/k_x$$

In later studies on the kinetics of nitration, a dilatometric method has proved successful (10). Several workers have noted that the distance travelled, l, by the meniscus in a dilatometer is proportional to the progress of the reaction. If D is the fractional volume change per unit length travelled by the meniscus, a constant for a dilatometer, and R the fractional volume change per gram molecule of the reaction, a constant for the reaction, then $(l - l_t) \times D/R$ measures the concentration of the reactants at time t. For nitration studies, the most suitable type of dilatometer for accurate work was found to be of the model illustrated.



More than with nitrations, the competitive method has been found necessary with bromine—olefin additions. The kinetics of other halogen additions has not yet been systematically studied. While there are are a few reactions involving olefins with deactivating groups which take

measurable time for addition, there are several which are very fast. In the experimental studies, as light exerts a profound influence on the rate, the comparison of olefins has to be in the dark. Where the competing olefins are gases, a sufficiently low temperature has also to be used in order to have solutions of reasonable concentrations. As in the familiar thermochemical experiment of distributing a base between two acids to ascertain their relative "strengths," an amount of bromine insufficient to react completely with either of the olefins is added in solution.

If x_o and y_o be the initial concentration of the olefins and x and y the amount reacting in time t, the instantaneous speeds may be expressed with maximum generality that will be allowed by the equations,

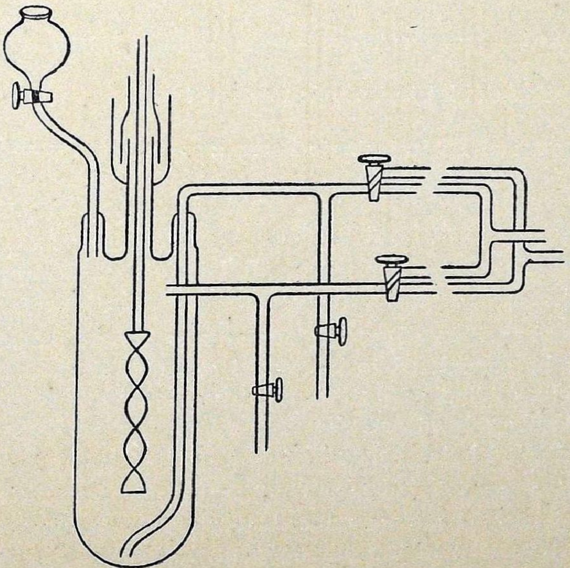
$$dx/dt = k'_x (x_o - x) [\mathrm{Br}]_t^m \; [k_{x1} (\mathrm{cat}_1)_t^{n_1} + k_{x2} (\mathrm{cat}_2)_t^{n_2} \ldots .]$$

$$dy/dt = k'_y (y_o - y) [\mathrm{Br}]_t^m \; [k_{y1} (\mathrm{cat}_1)_t^{n_1} + k_{y2} (\mathrm{cat}_2)_t^{n_2} \ldots .]$$

If the factors in square brackets cancel out on division except for a constant, the integrated form of the resultant equation will be

$$k_y/k_x = \log y_o - \log (y_o - y) / \log x_o - \log (x_o - x)$$

The reduced velocity for various olefins have been obtained by making use of this equation, the experiments being carried out in the apparatus illustrated (11).



The latest tool that has been used in the field of reaction kinetics is the now available isotopic tracers, radio-active as well as non-radio-active (12, 13). This has been applied especially in following the course of molecular rearrangements e.g., Walden inversion and Wagner-Meerwein transformations. The use of a radio-active halogen enables an experimental test of the hypothesis that stereochemical inversion occurs when and only when substitution takes place. The radio-active sodium iodide used in the experiments was derived by imbedding in paraffin a sealed tube containing the iodide very near a radon-beryllium-neutron source of 150 millicurie strength and the decay in radio-activity was measured with a Geiger counter. If N_s and N_i represent the total rates of substitution and inversion respectively, it has been shown that

$$N_s = \frac{1}{t} \cdot \frac{AB}{A+B} \log_e \frac{A}{A - x(A+B)/B\beta}$$

$$= \frac{1}{t} \cdot \frac{AB}{A+B} \log_e \frac{1 + \gamma \frac{A}{B}}{1-\gamma}$$

$$\text{and } N_i = \frac{A}{2t} \log_e \frac{\alpha_o}{\alpha}$$

A = Total organic iodide ; B = Total sodium iodide

β = Fraction of NaI in isotopic form at $t = 0$

x = Amount of RI in isotopic form; α = rotation $\gamma = \frac{x}{B\beta}$

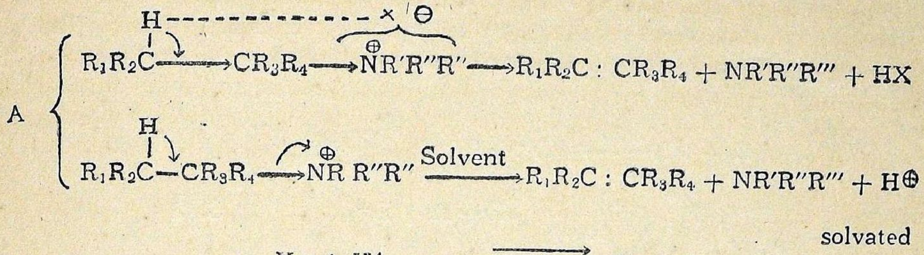
In the recent study of the Wagner-Meerwein change, Deuterium and radiochlorine have been used.

The methods adopted for ester hydrolysis do not call for any special mention. Here too, isotopic tracers have come in handy.

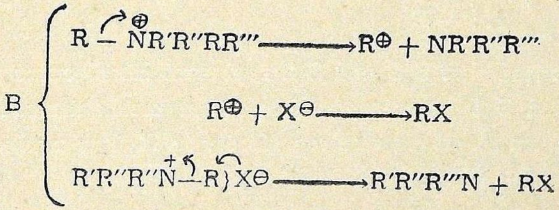
The decomposition of quaternary ammonium or sulphonium compounds may be considered to be special cases of the more general reaction, namely, aliphatic substitution. The mechanistic studies in both cases are closely related and the problem of 'Onium degradations and hydrolysis of alkyl halides may be taken up together.

Exhaustive methylation is a familiar process in which very early two different reactions were noticed, one giving an unsaturated compound as a product and the other giving an alcohol. It is also found

that the presence of a hydrogen atom at the β carbon atom is esential for Olefin formation. Systematic investigations of the Kinetics of 'Onium degradation showed that the following mechanisms serve to explain all such reactions. (14)



$$X^- + H^+_{\text{Solvated}} \rightleftharpoons HX + \text{Solvent}$$



In a later paper (15) Ingold has generalised these reactions so as to include all aliphatic substitution reactions. The more general representation of the reactions is as follows:—

Nucleophilic substitutions

$$\left.\begin{array}{l} Z + R \,\vdots\, - X \longrightarrow R - Z + X \\ Y \,\vdots\, - Z + R \,\vdots\, - X \longrightarrow R - Z + YX \end{array}\right\} S_N$$

This can be further subdivided

$$Z + R \,\vdots\, - X \longrightarrow R - Z + X \qquad S_N2$$

$$\left.\begin{array}{l} R \,\vdots\, - X \xrightarrow{\text{Slow}} R^+ + X^- \\ R^+ + Z^- \xrightarrow{\text{Rapid}} RZ \end{array}\right\} \qquad S_N1$$

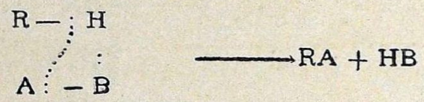
Electrophilic substitutions

$$\left.\begin{array}{l} A + R-\vdots B \longrightarrow R-A+B \\ R-\vdots A + R-\vdots B \longrightarrow R-A+R'B \end{array}\right\} S_E$$

Subdivided

$$R-\vdots H \xrightarrow{\text{Slow}} R^- + H^+$$

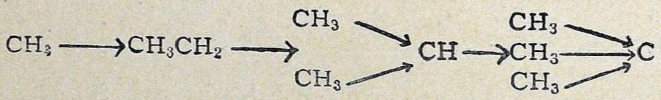
$$R^- + A\vdots-B \xrightarrow[\text{fast}]{} R-A+B^- \qquad S_E1$$



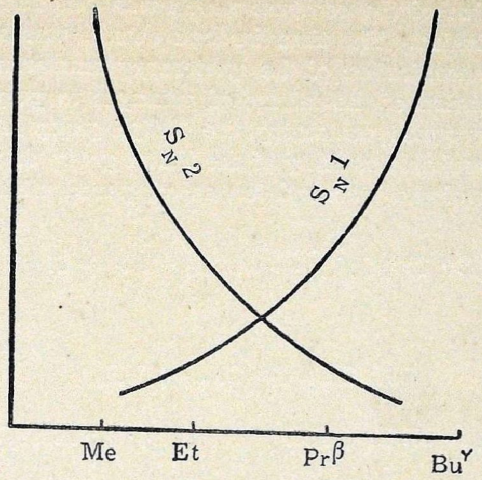
S_E2

It will be noticed that S_N2 and S_E2 represent bimolecular mechanisms while S_N1 and S_E1 represent unimolecular mechanisms. Large electron release from R, strong electron affinity in X, low nucleophilic activity and concentration of the reagent Y favour S_N1.

An examination of a series of quaternary ammonium and of sulphonium compounds reveals certain interesting relationships between structure and mode of degradation. Accepting Sidgwick's rule of covalency maxima, an unionised quaternary ammonium hydroxide is not possible and their decompositions must necessarily be ionic in nature. Among the various substituent groups studied, it is found that Me and Me_3C groups are readily eliminated as alcohols while other primary and secondary alkyl groups are not. The alcohol elimination curve thus passes through a minimum. As one goes through the series,



, the inductive effect of the alkyl components increases being a minimum with CH_3 and a maximum with tertiary butyl. This is consistent with a second order elimination of the methyl group. The increase in the number of alkyl groups suppresses this bimolecular mechanism and at some stage in the series the unimolecular mechanism becomes the more important one.



When one passes on to the aryl substituted compounds a variation has to be expected on account of the electromerism and the duplex polarity of the phenyl nucleus. The observations of Hughes (16) on the decompositions of the series of 'Onium compounds with CH_3, CH_2Ph, $CHPh_2$ and CPh_3 substituents show that the change from a bimolecular to a unimolecular mechanism occurs at the benzhydryl group. Similar observations with alkaline hydrolysis or alcoholysis of the corresponding halides have been made by Ward (17).

Now the change from a bimolecular to a unimolecular mechanism can arise from two causes. In the compound R R′ R″ R‴ N^+X, either the cationic stability of R may be increased or the basicity of the anion (using Bronsted's definition of the base) may be decreased. As with alkyl and aralphyl series, an anionic series of decreasing basicity O Et, O H, O Ph′, O Ac′, Cl′ may be considered. When both series are taken along with a simultaneous reaction involving olefin elimination, the point of mechanistic change will appear as a region.

As a typical instance of cationic stability influencing the degradations, we can take up the case of phenyl ethyl trimethyl ammonium compounds. The unsubstituted compound decomposes with the formation of styrene and the process is essentially bimolecular. It was anticipated that the introduction of an "electron sink" in the para position by increasing cationic stability will bring about a mechanistic change. Experiments with p-nitro phenyl ethyl trimethyl ammonium compounds (18) showed the interesting result that the decomposition gave a unimolecular constant. Variation in the anionic component had no influ-

ence on the value of the constant which was also independent of the anionic concentration. The time for half change was also independent of the initial concentration of the quaternary ammonium base. Similarly an explanation of the failure of attempts to prepare quaternary ammonium compounds containing the Trityl group has to take into account the remarkable stability of the Trityl group as a cation and the greater basicity of the hydroxyl ion as compared with halide ion.

$$Ph_3C \cdot Cl + NR_3 \rightleftharpoons CPh_3 \cdot \overset{+}{N}R_3 + Cl$$

$$\downarrow\uparrow$$

$$CPh_3OH \longleftarrow CPh_3 + NR_3$$

$$Ph_3C \cdot NMe_2 + MeI \longrightarrow Ph_3 \cdot C \cdot NMe_3\}I$$

$$\downarrow$$

$$Ph_3COH + NMe_4I$$

The decomposition of 'Onium compounds leading to alcohol may be taken to be the substitution of the NR_3 group by OH and as such the same ideas may be logically extended to Hydrolysis of alkyl halides. Kinetic studies on the hydrolysis of a series of alkyl halides in aqueous, alcoholic, acetone, and formic acid solutions have justified the extention of this analogy.

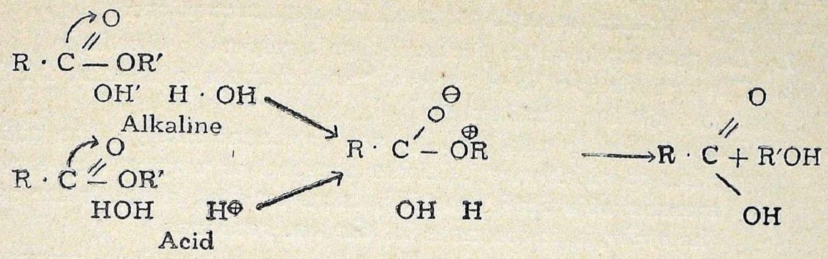
W. Taylor (19) has objected the mechanism suggested by Ingold on the ground that hydrolysis and alcoholysis of Me, Et, and tertiary Bu bromides in 60% and 80% alcohol gave first order constants, the sequence being

$Bu^{\gamma} >> Me \quad > Pr^{\beta}$ (taken from Ingold's results) $> Et$

This result is however not conclusive since in the presence of a large excess of one of the reagents, a bimolecular reaction tends to be pseudomonomolecular. Taylor further contends that in the hydrolysis of tertiary butyl chloride, a bimolecular mechanism in which water takes part as a reagent should be used. This cannot, however, be maintained since this hydrolysis is known to be independent of hydrogen-ion concentration. In a series of papers Hughes, Ingold and co-workers (J.C.S., 1940, p. 899 et seq.) have conclusively shown that Taylor's observations are worthless and have adduced fresh and conclusive evidence for the ionic mechanism envisaged earlier.

From one set of hydrolysis, we can pass on to a different type of hydrolysis, namely, the hydrolysis of esters by acids and alkalis. The

mechanism of ester hydrolysis that is generally accepted is the one due to Lowry (20).



By the use of an isotopic tracer, namely O^{18} in the acid hydrolysis of amyl acetate, Polanyi (21) has shown that during hydrolysis it is the C-O bond in C-OR that is broken and not the O-R bond. Kinetic studies with esters have been essentially with para-substituted benzoic esters, but even amongst these critical increment studies are very few. These have led to the interesting result that the value of PZ in the Arrhenius equation is substantially the same in both acid and alkaline hydrolysis, (22) a clear evidence in favour of the Lowry mechanism that gives a common route. The solvent effects observed with these ester hydrolysis, however, are difficult to amount for. In acid hydrolysis, the value of E increases as we change from alcohol-water⟶ acetone-water and in alkaline hydrolysis it is the reverse. Also the influence of substituents is greater in alcohol-water mixtures. A greater knowledge of the liquid state is necessary before an interpretation of this is possible. Our experiments in glycerol water mixtures indicate the necessity for viewing this as a two stage reaction. The studies on ester hydrolysis by Hinshelwood as well as by Ingold have clearly shown that the influence of substituents on this side chain reactivity is of the same order as may be expected from an application of the electronic theory of organic reactions. With the range in velocity constants of the order of 1 : 5000 or more, this series of reactions must be expected to give the results mentioned, namely, a constant PZ and a changing E, the values of which lie on a slope—2·303 RT, when E is plotted against $\log_{10}k$. All these experiments have been with para substituents and a few meta substituents alone. An examination of substituted aliphatic esters may be expected to show some difference and some peculiarities and experiments carried out in our laboratories do indicate these (23). It is relevent to mention here that the viscosity of the solvent seems to exert considerable influence on the reaction.

From the somewhat certain ground of 'Onium degradition and ester hydrolysis, we shall pass on to the uncertain regions of halogen addition and aromatic nitrations.

As already indicated, a competitive method has been found very useful in the comparison of the reactivities of substituted olefins. The success of the method depends on the following assumptions.

1. The reaction is of the *first order* with respect to the *olefin.*
2. The reaction is of the *same order* with respect to bromine for the two similar reactions.
3. The reaction is catalysed by one dominant catalyst the active mass of which may be either constant or vary in any erratic manner with time, provided, however, that in the latter case the *order,* n, is the same for the two reactions.

Under controlled catalytic conditions, these assumptions appear to be justifiable. Another factor setting a limit to the validity of the equation is that the experimentally determined values of X and Y must be small if errors are to be minimised. A factor that was unnoticed in the initial stages of the competitive method for this reaction was the existence of an induction period. This introduced a further limitation. A minimum amount of hydrogen bromide has to be added to eliminate this induction period; the amount added, however, has to be sufficiently small in order to avoid the necessity of too rapid an addition of bromine. The study of a series of substituted olefins give the results appended (24)

TABLE III.

Expts. No.	X	Y	K_y/K_x	Reduced rate for Y.		Mean.
17—19	$CH_2{:}CH_2$	$CHPh{:}CH_2$	3·24		3·24	3·35
22—25	$CH_2{:}CH_2$	$CHPh{:}CH_2$	3·43		3·43	
28	$CHPh{:}CH_2$	$CHMe{:}CH_2$	0·63	0·63×3·35=	2·10	2·03
29	$CMe_2{:}CH_2$	$CHMe{:}CH_2$	0·35	0·35×5·32=	1·95	
1—4	$CH_2{:}CH_2$	$CMe_2{:}CH_2$	5·5		5·5	5·53
20—21	$CH_2{:}CH_2$	$CMe_2{:}CH_2$	5·6		5·6	
26—27	$CH_2{:}CH_2$	$CMe_2{:}CHMe$	10·4		10·4	10·4
5	$CH_2{:}CH_2$	$CMe{:}CMe$	13·6		13·6	14·0
6—8	$CMe_2{:}CH_2$	$CMe{:}CMe$	2·54	2·54×5·53=	14·1	
14—15	$CH_2{:}CH_2$	$CHBr{:}CH_2$	small		small	small
9—10	$CH_2{:}CH_2$	$CO_2H{\cdot}CH{:}CH$	small		small	small
11—13	$CHMe{:}CH_2$	$CO_2H{\cdot}CH{:}CHMe$	0·13	0·13×2·0 =	0·26	0·26
30—32	$CH_2{:}CH_2$	$CHO{\cdot}CH{:}CH_2$	1·5		1·5	1·5
33	$CHMe_2{:}CH_2$	$CHO{\cdot}CH{:}CHMe$	1·5	1·5×2·0 =	3·0	3·0

Since this additive reactivity depends on the polarizibility of the double, bond one might expect the influence of the substituents on other phenomena like the Raman effect directly connected with polarizability. This is seen from an examination of the table.

TABLE IV.

Compound.	C=C Raman line	Reduced velocity.
$CH_2{=}CH_2$	1623	1
$MeCH{=}CH_2$	1647	2
$Me_2C{=}CH_2$	1650	5·5
$Me_2C{=}CHMe$	1679	10·2
$Me_2C{=}CMe_2$	—	14·0
$PhCH{=}CH_2$	1631	3·2
$CH_2{=}CHCl$	1608	Very low
$CH_2{=}CHBr$	1597	Very low
$CH_2{=}CH \cdot CHO$	1618	1·5
$CH_3 \cdot CH{=}CH \cdot CHO$ (trans)	—	3·0

While a comparison of the additive reactivity of olefins by a competitive method is possible by an adjustment of the experimental conditions, it is interesting to examine the reaction from the mechanistic point of view. In place of the old idea of a simple bimolecular mechanism, we have to consider other possibilities. (25) It is obvious that the reaction is very complex. There is invariably an evolution of hydrogen bromide during the reaction whether the slow additions or the fast additions are considered. The induction period is observed in all solvents, polar and nonpolar, hydroxylic and non-hydroxylic. The induction period is eliminated by the addition of hydrogen bromide or Iodine monochloride and the reaction is considerably slowed down by the addition of antimony tribromide. The existence of an induction period, an exponential type of reaction curve, and the existence of a negative catalyst are amongst the criteria for a chain reaction according to Semenoff (26). The course of the reaction also suggests a chain mechanism such as the one tentatively suggested (27).

TABLE V.

(1) $H_2C : CH_2 + Br_2 \longrightarrow CH_2 : CHBr + HBr$

(2) $$H_2C : CH_2 + HBr \longrightarrow \begin{array}{ccc} CH_2 & = & CH_2 \\ \vdots & & \vdots \\ H & - & Br \end{array}$$

(3) $Br_2 + HBr \longrightarrow \overset{*}{Br_2} + HBr$

(4) $$\begin{array}{ccc} H_2C & = & CH_2 \\ \vdots & & \vdots \\ H & - & Br \end{array} + \overset{*}{Br_2} \longrightarrow CH_2Br \cdot \overset{\oplus}{CH_2} + HBr + Br^-$$

(5) $CH_2Br \cdot \overset{\oplus}{CH} + Br^- \longrightarrow CH_2Br \cdot CH_2Br$

An examination of the bimolecular velocity constant obtained with initially added hydrogen bromide clearly indicates that while an increased catalyst concentration increases the rate of addition there is no direct proportionality between catalyst concentration and rate constant (28).

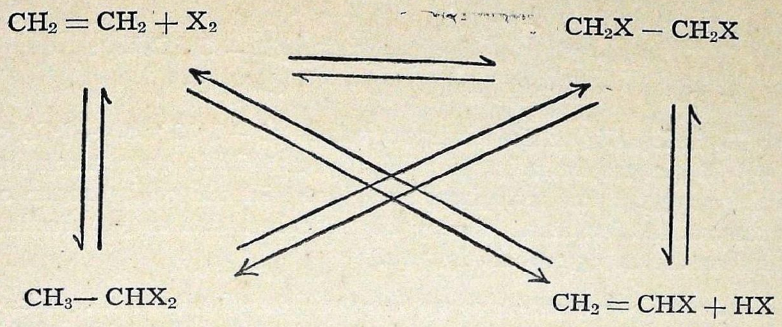
TABLE VI.

Concentration of Tiglic acid M/15.

Concentration of Br_2.	Concentration of HBr in gms. per 200 c.c. of solution.	Velocity constant k_2 mols/litre.
(A) M/15	0·1188	0·00790
(B) M/15	0·0594	0·00627
(C)	2·00	1·32
(A) M/30	0·0594	0·000577
(B) M/30	0·0297	0·000428
(C)	2·00	1·34
(A) 2M/75	0·0594	0·000483
(B) 2M/75	0·0238	0·000317
(C)	2·50	1·52
(B) M/50	0·0178	0·000231
(A) M/50	0·0594	0·000405
(C)	3·3	1·76
(B) M/150	0·00594	0·000068
(A) M/150	0·0594	0·000224
(C)	10	3·29

C=Ratio A/B.

In applying the electronic theory of organic reactions, it is clearly recognised that the energy of activation in any type of reaction as the present series will vary with the substituent atoms or groups. As I have already indicated, from semi-empirical grounds, Sherman has arrived at a value of 23,000 calories for the reaction between Ethylene and bromine considering the following series of reactions (29).



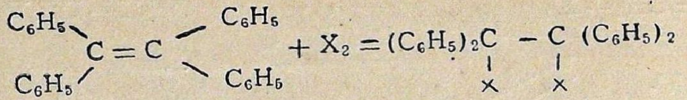
It will be noticed that these calculations do not take into account the possibility of a chain mechanism for this reaction. As such one has to expect differences between calculated and observed values for the energy of activation. For ethylene itself experimental values are not yet available and where these are available, calculations have yet to be made. The following figures, however, may not be without interest.

	E
Crotonic Acid	10,100
Tiglic Acid	6,400
ββDimethyl Acrylic Acid	4,400

The dark reaction between olefins and bromine is found to be as much a chain reaction as the photochemical one, though there is no evidence of bromine atoms being formed in solution in the dark. All available evidence is against the atom chain mechanism for this reaction. Also, in the reactions in oxygenated solvents, there is some evidence that the solvent itself takes part in the reaction (30).

Before leaving the subject, it may not be out of place to mention the peculiarities of the phenyl substituted olefins. As anticipated, from theoretical grounds, styrene adds on bromine more rapidly than Ethylene. Tetraphenyl-ethylene is remarkable in that it does not add on bromine but rapidly yields substitution products. An interesting explanation for this has been given by Pauling (31).

He shows that as a result of conjugation of phenyl groups and double bonds, the extra resonance energy of tetraphenyl ethylene (1·08 v.e.) is more than enough to overcome the unsaturation of the double bond (90·74 v.e.) in consequence of which the properties of the substance differ, radically from those of an unsaturated compound. Using bond energy values given in earlier papers Pauling calculates $\triangle H$ values for the reaction:



where X_2 is H_2, Cl_2 or Br_2 and gets values of $-0 \cdot 30$ v.e., $-0 \cdot 42$ v.e. and $+0 \cdot 24$ v.e. respectively. If $\triangle H$ does not differ very much from $\triangle F$, these suggest that tetraphenyl ethylene will add on hydrogen and chlorine but not bromine. It may be remarked that as yet Pauling's conclusions are only qualitatively true.*

To conclude, we can take up the problem of nitrations. Kinetic studies are available only for aromatic nitrations. As with bromine additions, we may notice the competitive method first and then pass on to a consideration of the mechanism. The appended table gives an idea of the relative orienting effects as revealed by these competitions in nitration of mono-substituted compounds. (32)

Substance	Relative Rate
$C_6H_5 \cdot H$	1
$C_6H_5 \cdot F$	0·15
$C_6H_5 \cdot Cl$	0·033
$C_6H_5 \cdot Br$	0·030
$C_6H_5 \cdot I$	~0·18
$C_6H_5 \cdot CooEt$	0·0037

The results indicate that the rates of nuclear nitration passes through a minimum in the halogen benzenes contrasting with the absence of such intermediate maximum or minimum when one considers side chain reactivity. This difference is presumably due to the relatively greater importance of polarizability effects in nuclear than in side chain reactivity. The experiments indicate that the halogens are "electron releasing" in the order.

$$I > Br > Cl > F$$

Nitration studies with various solvents have shown that they may may be divided into three classes.

Slow: Acetic acid, Dioxan, Acetonitrile.

Intermediate: Nitromethane, Acetic Anhydride.

Fast: Sulphuric acid.

*The possibility of a bromine addition compound in the presence of a catalyst is being investigated.

For Kinetic studies by a dilatometric method, the intermediate solvents have been used and the nitration in nitromethane solution is found to necessitate a chain mechanism in which the solvent plays an important role. The suggested chain mechanism is as follows. (33)

$$CH_3 \cdot NO_2 \rightleftarrows CH_2 : NO \cdot OH \text{ (Catalysed by } HNO_3)$$

$$CH_2 : NO \cdot OH + HNO_3 \rightleftarrows CH_2 : NO \cdot ONO_2 + H_2O$$

$$CH_2 : NO \cdot ONO_2 + HAr \longrightarrow CH_2 : NO \cdot OH + ArNO_2$$

$$2HNO_3 \rightleftarrows N_2O_3 + H_2O \rightleftarrows NO + NO_2 + H_2O$$

$$CH_2 : NO \cdot OH + NO_2 \longrightarrow CH_2(NO_2)_2 + H$$

The conclusion reached from the studies is that in Nitromethane solution, the aci form of the solvent forms a mixed anhydride with nitric acid which is a better nitrating agent, recalling the relative efficacy of brominating agents as influenced by the structure of such reagents. Another interesting observation in these experiments is the surprising fact that the rate of nitration of benzene, toluene, and ethyl benzene are independent of the hydrocarbon concentration. Unlike these however, the mono-halogen derivatives follow no simple order, and the results do not lend themselves to simple mathematical computations. There are clear indications that the rate of nitration is a function of the concentration of the halogeno-benzene being nitrated. The only qualitative similarities observed in the nitration of the hydrocarbons and the halogeno-benzenes were (i) the rapid increase in the rate of addition with increasing concentration of nitric acid and (ii) the decelarating influence of nitrous acid.

The brief survey attempted in the preceding pages might have indicated the extent to which Kinetic studies have enabled a somewhat better understanding of the fundamental reactions of compounds familiar to the organic chemist. It is also clear that the studies have only tended to make the problem apparently more difficult to solve and further work on the reactions may be expected to unravel what has so far eluded us.

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The Nayaks of Tanjore

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CHAPTER VII.

GŌVINDA DĪKSHITA

Neither the rule of the Tanjore Nayaks in general, nor the reign of Raghunātha Nayaka in particular, would be complete and full without a reference being made to Gōvinda Dīkshita, the illustrious Brahman minister of the kingdom. Gōvinda Dīkshita was minister to both Achyutappa Nayaka and his son Raghunātha, and it was to him that these two Nayaks owed a large measure of their successful and glorious rule. The Dīkshita played a very prominent part in the good administration of the country, and it may be said that his fame even eclipsed that of the Nayaks. If Raghunātha Nayaka could be compared to the great Krishnadēva Raya of Vijayanagar, Gōvinda Dīkshita may well be ranked with the latter's minister, Sāluva Timma. Gōvinda Dīkshita's name is still green in the memory of the people of the Chōḻadēśa and the generation that is fast disappearing, speaks of his greatness and fame as an administrator, as an erudite scholar and as an able minister besides, his high sense of justice and fairness which were all brought to bear upon his high office of minister. His meritorious services with which he enriched the people and the land as well, are held in much esteem even at the present day.

The existence of numerous villages and streets besides other memorials, named after him, stand testimony to his greatness and to the regard which the people and the rulers had for him and his personality. The villages of Gōvindapuram, Gōvindakudi, Ayyampēt and the streets known as Ayyaṉkadai street in Tanjore, Yāgasālai street in Kumbakonam and tanks such as Ayyaṉkuḷam, all these are monuments that go to commemorate his name. In spite of all these remembrances, it is really an irony of fate that very little should be known authentically of such a great person, who lived and played a considerable part in maintaining the prestige of the Nayak rule. In the temple of the village called Pattīswaram in the Kumbakonam Taluk, there stands 'in oriental majesty and grandeur, a statue of this great minister dressed in the state garb with the long robe and with the curious head-dress of the day.' Besides him stands in like manner the magnificient statue of his wife. And Liṅgās called Dīkshitaliṅgas, are still worshipped in the temples of Kumbēswara at Kumbakonam and Paṇchanadīswara at Tiruvādi (Tiruvaiyar). Whether these Liṅgās are consecrated by the Dīkshita himself or established in his name, are questions that remain

to be settled. But all the same, nothing definite is known about him and his early life, beyond the traditional accounts which though interesting, are so varied as not to admit of easy verification. Pattīswaram and Tirunāgēswaram in the Kumbakonam Taluk and Tiruppalāttu-rai in the Pāpanasam Taluk, are held by the people as places, where he lived and spent his life. The statement that he lived at Pattīswaram and went to Tanjore daily in his palanquin to discharge his duties as minister, looks not only improbable but incredible considering the distance of the place and the importance of his high office.[1] However, the historical remains of a statue and the ruined site shown as the place where his house once stood, as well as epigraphs and the present custom of a section of the community called *Paṭṭunūlkārar* going to Pattīswaram to settle their minor differences before the shrine of Gōvinda Dīkshita even now,—all these support the statement that in all probability he might have lived and spent his last days at Pattīswaram or it might have been a favourite place of residence of his.

The literary evidence of this period contains only casual references and from them a good account cannot be made of him. Even Yagñanārāyana Dīkshita, the son of this famous minister and the biographer of Raghunātha Nayaka, does not give a full account of his father, though he shows in many places that his father was associated with the government of the Nayaks, during the reigns of Achyutappa and Raghunātha. But as regards the minister's early life, it is not possible to derive any knowledge from his son's references. Tradition has it that Gōvinda Dīkshita was a Kannada Brahman belonging to the Vaṣishṭa gōtra and Āśvalāyanasūtra and that he migrated to the Chōḷa Country about the middle of the 16th century. Even of this, there are two versions. One version says that Gōvinda Dīkshita, a Kannada Brahman, was noted even as a young man, for his remarkable knowledge of Hindu Sāstras and Astrology. He is said to have been born of very poor parents; and so to find employment he made his way to Vijayanagara at the early age of seventeen. There, he soon became a favourite of Achyutarāya, (A.D. 1529 to A.D. 1542). Gōvinda Dīkshita's first meeting with the Rāya is said to have taken place about A.D. 1532, when he went to the royal palace along with several astrologers who had been summoned by the Rāya, to cast the horoscope of a child that had just then born to him. Achyutarāya was very much impressed by the Dīkshita's deep

1. An account of Gōvinda Dīkshita embodying all the traditions and stories is given in an article entitled *Gōvinda Dikshita* by Mr. N. K. Venkatesam Pantulu, in the *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, Vol. II, pp. 220-241.

knowledge of astrology, showered on him his favours and employed him in his service. When Achyutarāya gave Śevappa Nayaka, the principality of Tanjore and appointed him to be its governor, the latter is said to have taken along with him, his former master and friend, Gōvinda Dīkshita.[2] It is even claimed that the Nayaka requested Gōvinda Dīkshita to accept the governorship of the province, but the latter excused himself by saying that he, being a Brahman, should not encroach upon the right or *dharma* of a Kshatriya, whose duty it was to wield the sceptre. And so he helped Śevappa to become the ruler and himself became his minister. It is said that he continued to be minister of the state for more than the duration of the rule of Śevappa and Achyutappa and even unto the reign of Raghunātha.[3] Another version, says that he was a Kannada Brahman and was born of poor parents in Mysore, and he migrated to Vellore, where he took service under his uncle, who was the rāyasam (secretary) of the Ārni Nayaka. Later he was transferred to the Tanjore Samasthānam, when a daughter of this poligar was married to a prince of the Tanjore line. Here, in Tanjore, he rose to prominence and became the minister of state. Neither of these accounts is supported by the literary evidence nor by the epigraphic testimony, but the fact that he was a Kannada Brahman and a great scholar is beyond doubt.[4] The rest of the tradition of his rise to power cannot withstand internal criticism; for one thing, the epigraphs prove the impossibility of Śevappa being a servant of Gōvinda Dīkshita and the former's rise to prominence through him.[5] Apart from this it is also

2. An account of this traditional story is given in Chapter II. Also *Sāhitya-ratnākara*, Introduction by Dr. T. R. Chintamani.

3. An apt parallelism may be traced between the long ministerial career of the Dīkshita at Tanjore leading to the consolidation of the State and to an increase in its prestige and the remarkable services of Ariyanātha Mudaliar, the co-adjutor and Daḷavāy of Visvanatha Nayak, the founder of the Madura Nayak kingdom. He was for over 50 years the "second in power" in the State. Ariyanātha was especially responsible for the organisation of the Pālaiyam system in the Southern Tamil country, and the poligars were specially attached to Ariyanātha and his memory. In one grant his name is associated along with that of the Nayak himself (of 1560 A.D.). Ariyanātha was the Daḷavay and Pradhāni of the State; and his equestrian statue in the Pudumantapam at Madura and the thousand-pillared hall in its great temple are "substantial relics of his importance". Both Ariyanātha and Gōvinda Dīkshita were roughly contemporaries and engaged in work of the same character and both were responsible for the consolidation of the two great Nayak States of the south.—[Ed.].

4. The Kaṇṇada origin of Gōvinda Dīkshita is established by the fact that His Holiness Srī Saṅkarāchārya of Kāmakōti Pīṭha in his *purvāsrama* belonged to this family and he is of Kaṇṇada origin.

5. See Chapter II.

obvious from a study of the records that Gōvinda Dīkshita could not have been minister to Śevappa, the first Nayaka. Gōvinda Dīkshita is mentioned only once in the records of Achyutappa and Raghunātha and the earliest inscription mentioning him by name, is dated A.D. 1588.[6] This record registers a gift made by the Nayaka for the merit of Gōvinda Dīkshita. The literary evidences of *Raghunāthābhyudayam* and the *Sāhityaratnākara* also speak of Gōvinda Dīkshita only during the reign of Achyutappa and Raghunātha and not before. If Gōvinda Dīkshita had any association with Śevappa, at least his son Yagñanārāyana would have made mention of it. Moreover, Gōvinda Dīkshita's migration from Vellore is not also supported by internal evidence, since there is nothing to prove the marital alliance of the Tanjore Nayaks with the house of Ārni. Hence these traditional accounts are of no material help to the historian.

Mr. N. K. Venkatesam Pantulu[7] says that Gōvinda Dīkshita began his career as minister under the first Nayak Śevappa and continued in office through the reign of Achyutappa; and he also was of help to Raghunātha in the early years of his reign. He does not support the statement contained in the *Tanjore District Manual* which says that Gōvinda Dīkshita also lived during the time of Vijayarāghava Nayaka, the last ruler; on the ground that this supposition was consequent on the writer of the *Manual* identifying Achyutappa Nayaka, the second ruler, with the last king, called Vijayarāghava and Achyuta Vijayarāghava in the records. He further adds that this view is incredible when between Śevappa and Vijayarāghava, there was an interval of a century and there was no possibility of his having lived for such a long time. The literary evidence also proves the impossibility of Gōvinda Dīkshita having continued as minister under Vijayarāghava. The *Chaturdaṇḍi prakāśika* distinctly says that Vēṇkatēswara Dīkshita, one of the sons of Gōvinda Dīkshita, was Vijayarāghava's minister and so the father was evidently dead by that time. Therefore the question of Gōvinda Dīkshita's early association with Śevappa alone remains to be settled. Mr. Venkatesam Pantulu says that his early association with Śevappa is established and quotes two inscriptions in support of his statement.[8] He takes the word 'Śevappa Nāyakkarayyan' occuring in

6. 119 of 1930.

7. *The Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, Vol. II, 1928, p. 223.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 224.

one of them[9] to mean both Śevappa Nayaka and his minister Gōvinda Dīkshita on the ground, that the latter was called Ayyan out of respect. Ayyan, he further adds, is derived from the Sanskrit word Ārya which means 'worshipful.' This argument is not only inconclusive, but also untenable. Unfortunately, one of the epigraphs produced by him for our consideration, does not contain either the name of Śevappa or his minister; while the second inscription which was issued by Achyutappa records that he was the son of Śevappa; (*Śevappa Nāyakkarayyan Achyutappa Nāyakkarayyan Tanjāvūr taṭṭārukku kodutta dharma sāśanam*) and that he made a gift to the goldsmiths of Tanjore. The reference to Śevappa Nāyakkarayyan must be taken to refer to Śevappa Nayaka alone and not to mean himself and his minister. Gōvinda Dīkshita is also called in his epigraphs as Dīkshitarayyan and the Tanjore records give the rulers the appellation of Ayyan added to their names. Mr. Venkatesam Pantulu, who reads the word Śevappa Nayakkarayyan as referring to two distinct individuals, *viz.*, the Nayak and the Ayyan, in order to prove the association of Gōvinda Dīkshita with Śevappa, is not inclined to read and interpret in the same manner the epigraphs of Vijayarāghava Nayaka, which contain references as Vijayarāghava Nāyakkarayyan.[10] In that case, it must be said that Gōvinda Dīkshita also lived during the reign of the last Nayaka Vijayarāghava; but Mr. Pantulu says that he could not have been minister to Vijayarāghava; and hence his view of Gōvinda Dīkshita's association with Śevappa from the epigraphs, remains to be proved. The argument that Gōvinda Dīkshita was not associated with Vijayarāghava, on the ground that the former could not have lived for more than a century, applies equally to the statement that he was associated with Śevappa very early. Because, Gōvinda Dīkshita's latest epigraph is dated A.D. 1634 and if he should have come to Vijayanagar in his 17th year corresponding to A.D. 1532, before the rule of the Nayaks began at Tanjore, then it would give him a very long life of more than a century; and this is also extremely impossible.[11] There is also no literary evidence to establish Gōvinda Dīkshita's early association with the administration of Śevappa. The *Sangīta Sudhā* alone contains a reference to prove that

9. The epigraphs referred to are, Achyutadēva Raya's inscription recording a gift of land by Taṭṭappa Nayaka, son of Mallappa Nayaka to Toppāram Kētta Pillaiyar and 22 of 1897 dated Saka 1499 and issued by Achyutappa Nayaka in favour of goldsmiths. Mr. Venkatesam Pantulu basing his conclusion on the traditional evidence, works out the epigraphs to suit his conclusion.

10. 543 of 1918 and 709 of 1904.

11. According to tradition he came to Vijayanagar in his 17th year and his first meeting with Achyutarāya took place about A.D. 1532 when a son was born to him. Gōvinda Dīkshita had then Śevappa as his servant.

Gōvinda Dīkshita was in the court of Śevappa and here, this fact is given out by Gōvinda Dīkshita himself, when he praised Raghunātha and brought to his notice that even his grandfather had predicted in open court that he (Raghunātha) would become a great ruler. This appreciative reference is said to have been made by Śevappa, when Raghunātha was a tender child interested in play.[12] This statement would only prove that the Dīkshita was present in Śevappa's court only from the latter part of his reign, since Raghunātha, his grandson is mentioned as having been a child then.[13] Even Yagñanārāyana Dīkshita speaks of his father's association only with Achyutappa Nayaka and his son, and not with his predecessor. From the *Sāhityaratnākara* it is known for certain that Gōvinda Dīkshita was minister to Achyutappa; and the latter took his advice on all matters relating to the internal and foreign policies of the state. Gōvinda Dīkshita attended the war council held by Achyutappa on the eve of the great Karnataka civil war of succession, and it was he, who helped in the coronation of Raghunātha Nayaka and the abdication of Achyutappa. Gōvinda Dīkshita is said to have also crowned Raghunātha and performed his *Pattābhishēka* ceremony. He taught Raghunātha the science of politics and other śāstras and claimed him as his pupil. Raghunātha Nayaka's march upon Śōlaga and other enemies was the result of Gōvinda Dīkshita's wise counsel. When Raghunātha started on his expedition, he is said to have left the administration in the hands of Gōvinda Dīkshita. Raghunātha Nayaka's confidence in his minister and the great regard which he had for his learning and experience in administration, are fully borne out by Yagñanārāyana Dīkshita in his references in the *Sāhityaratnākara* as well as in several places in the *Raghunātha Vilāsa Nātakam*. According to the evidence contained in the latter work, it appears that when a drama was enacted in the palace theatre both Raghunātha Nayaka and Gōvinda Dīkshita were seated together on the same seat. Yagñanārāyana Dīkshita also speaks in glowing terms of the victories won by the Nayak and of the high reputation enjoyed by his father, Gōvinda Dīkshita. These references go to show that Gōvinda Dīkshita continued to live during the reign of Raghunātha; and the same internal evidence proves that he did not survive in

12. *Sangīta Sudhā*, Sl. 48.

पूर्वं समेतां वयमत्रयुष्मत्पितामहं चेव्वमहीमहेन्द्रम् ।
आशीभिरानन्दयितुं तदग्रे त्वय्यादधानेखुरलीषु केलिम् ॥
तदाभवन्तं सविलोक्यहर्षादस्मान्मुदावाचमिमामवोचत् ।
अस्माकमेतेन भवेत् प्रतिष्टा घर्थुसमर्थञ्च स एष राज्यम् ॥

13. *Sangīta Sudhā*, Sl. 49.

the time of Vijayarāghava Nayaka. Venkaṭamakhī, another son of Gōvinda Dīkshita and the author of the *Chaturdaṇḍi prakāsika*, says that he wrote the work at the instance of Vijayarāghava, when he was minister to him for some time. If Gōvinda Dīkshita continued to live then, Venkaṭamakhi would have mentioned him. Since the latest epigraph[14] of Gōvinda Dīkshita is dated in A.D. 1634, it is certain that he lived till then. His earliest record is dated in A.D. 1588[15] and so, his association with the government of the Nayaks will have to be mainly based on the evidence of the epigraphs, between A.D. 1588 and A.D. 1634. This period does not include the years which he spent in the court of Śevappa, whose death had taken place about A.D. 1580. Since Śevappa is said to have seen his grandson, Raghunātha, playing as a boy, Raghunātha's birth may be placed in or about A.D. 1575. As Gōvinda Dīkshita bears witness to Śevappa's blessing the child Raghunātha, it is probable that Gōvinda Dīkshita had then already settled at Tanjore. Since he says that he was one of those, who were assembled at the durbar hall when Śevappa expressed his high expectations of Raghunātha, it is possible to surmise that he had not then become the minister of state, but was probably employed in the palace as the royal *purōhita*.[16] Hence under the present circumstances, Gōvinda Dīkshita's association with the administration of Tanjore may be broadly held to have lasted from A.D. 1575 to A.D. 1634, and in this period of nearly six decades, he was serving the Nayaks in a double capacity both as their 'Kulakūṭastha purōhita' (family priest) and 'Kula mantri.'

From the foregoing account it is evident that Gōvinda Dīkshita, a Kannada Brahman hailing from the Mysore country made his way to the court of the Tanjore Nayak during the last years of Śevappa, the first ruler; and he was well received and respectfully treated on account of his profound scholarship and deep learning. Soon the Dīkshita made his mark there and rose to be the royal purōhita, then to that of a tutor to the prince and lastly to the high office of minister solely by dint of merit.[17] Achyutappa Nayaka's great regard for this minister is best seen in his records referring to the gifts made by him for the merit of Gōvinda Dikshita. Raghunātha Nayaka's veneration for and gratitude to his minister were something extraordinary, since Gōvinda Dīkshita was also

14. 257 of 1927.
15. 119 of 1930.
16. The *Sāhityaratnākara* refers to Achyutappa's request made to Gōvinda Dīkshita to fix an auspicious day for the celebration of Raghunātha's coronation. *Sāhityaratnākara*, Canto X, Sl. 103. Also Canto XII, Sl. 46. Here Gōvinda Dīkshita is called Guru.
17. *Sāhityaratnākara*: Colophon.

his teacher. And in the later years of Raghunātha's reign which witnessed the revival of literary activities, Gōvinda Dīkshita must have also played a prominent part; but of this we have no direct evidence.

Gōvinda Dīkshita was an orthodox Brahman and he is said to have performed numerous sacrifices. Tradition says that he never neglected to perform Agnihōtra (daily fire worship) and was never wanting in the strict performance of *dharma* as enjoined in the Vēdas and Śāstras. Yagñanārāyana Dīkshita speaks of his performing the *Sāgnicitya,* the *Vājapēya* and the *Sarvatōmukha* sacrifices and in the performance of the *Vājapēya* sacrifice he was assisted by the Nayaka, Raghunatha, who it is said, held the umbrella over his head. The Yāgasāla street and the Yāgamantapa at Kumbakonam are even now pointed out as marking the places, where Gōvinda Dīkshita performed these sacrifices. It is also said that he made large gifts and benefactions on the occasion of the completion of these sacrifices; and his great gifts numbering sixteen (*Ṣōdaśa mahādānas*) and his gift of a village in the name of each tithi (15 days of a *paksha*) are also well known. The modern village called Ēchchangudi *alias* Ekādasī Agrahāram and the village called Mahādhānapuram, Mulliakkudi *alias* Dīkshita Samudra and important streets called Mahadhāna streets, in the towns of Mayavaram, Tiruvidaimarudur and Tiruvaiyar besides others, are all pointed out as great gifts made to the Brahmans on such occasions. Gōvinda Dīkshita's name is even now associated with the repair and construction of the sixteen mantapas on the bunds of the Mahāmakham tank at Kumbakonam.[18] It is said that the Nayak, who was pleased with the Dīkshita for his charitable endowments, gifted to him a quantity of gold equal to his own weight for further repairs. Gōvinda Dikshita is also spoken of as the builder of several Pushyamantapas at different places such as Tiruvaiyar, Kumbakonam, Tiruvidaimarudur, Tiruvaḷanjuḷi and Vriddhāchalam. As Achyutappa Nayaka also is mentioned by the Dīkshita as the builder of these maṇtapas at these places,[19] it is possible that these works were carried out at the instance of Gōvinda Dīkshita. The Rāmaswāmi temples at Kumbakonam, Vijayarāghavapuram and Srirangam were erected during his time.[20] The temple at Pattīswaram is said to have received large gifts as well as additions made to its precincts. He is mentioned as the builder of the Āchāravāśal, and the Anaṇtakalyāna maṇtapa of the Sāraṇgaswāmi matha at Kumbakonam in A.D. 1631[21] and also the Turaikkāttuvār

18. A.R.E., 1926-27, p. 117.
19. *Sangīta Sudhā.*
20. A.R.E. 1926-27.
21. 270 of 1927.

mantapa in the Viḷanagar temple situated in the Mayavaram Taluk.[22] Apart from these magnificent charities and public works, tradition has it that he also devoted much attention to the cause of education. The Rājā Pātasala at Kumbakonam traces its origin to the bounty of Gōvinda Dīkshita; and several institutions for the teaching and propagation of the Hindu Śāstras and Vēdas were also maintained by him. Even though Sanskrit learning enjoyed special favour, yet the growth of and fostering of the Tamil literature and culture do not seem to have suffered at all for want of patronage either royal or otherwise. Gōvinda Dīkshita himself was responsible for the translation of the *Tiruvaiyār Mahātmyam* into Tamil about A.D. 1605.[23]

In addition to being a good administrator, Gōvinda Dīkshita was also a renowned author. He is said to have written commentaries on the *Jaimini Sūtras* and *Kaumārila Daṛsana* besides the *Sangīta Sudhā*. He is called *Advaita Vidyācharya*; and Yagñanārāyana Dīkshita says that he was not only proficient in the Advaita Philosophy, but had a thorough knowledge of the six systems of philosophy (Shad darsanas). Vēṇkatēswara Dīkshita (or Vēnkaṭamakhi), another son of this great minister says that his father reestablished the Advaita school of Philosophy of Śri Sankara and he was the elder contemporary of the great Advaita scholar, Appayya Dīkshita. Both of them are said to have made efforts to propagate advaitism.[24] While Gōvinda Dīkshita completed his *Kaumārila Daṛsana* (a commentary on Kumārila Bhatta's *daṛsana*), Appayya Dīkshita wrote in comment, his *Parimala* at the former's instance. Appayya Dīkshita's reference to an *Advaita Vidyāchārya* in his *Siḍḍhāntalēsa Saṇgraha*, is taken to mean Gōvinda Dīkshita himself, for whom the author had a high regard.[25] Gōvinda Dīkshita was also very proficient in the science of music and may well be called the founder of Karnātic music. Vēnkaṭamakhi says that the *Sangīta Sudha* was in reality written by his

22. 164 of 1925.

23. There is a passage in the *Tiruvaiyār Purāṇam* which reads:

மலிபுணல் சூழ்சோணாடு தஞ்சையிற் காத்திருமரசர்
மதியமைச்சர் ஒலிமறைதேர் கோவிந்த தீட்சதராயன்
திருவாக்குடைமையாலே, கலியுகத்துச் சகராண்டு
மூவைஞ் ஞூற்றிருபதின்மேல் காணுமேழாய்பொலி
வருடத்தை யேரற்றுப் புராணவடமொழி தமிழாற் புகலுற்றேன்.

24. *Gōvinda Dīkshita* by Mr. N. K. Venkatesam Pantulu, *Ibid*.

25. Gōvinda Dīkshita is wrongly called the author of *Harivaṃsa Charitam* composed of twenty-three cantos on the ground, that the author of this work is also called Gōvindamantrin. But this is not possible since the latter is said to have belonged to Sāṇdilya gōtra whereas Gōvinda Dikshita belonged to Vasishta gōtra. (See The Tanjore Sarfoji Maharaja's Saraswathi Mahal Library Catalogue edited by Prof. P. P. S. Sastri.)

father.[26] Both Yagñanārāyana Dīkshita and his brother Vēnkaṭēswara Dīkshita were all good musicians and the latter is given credit for his standard work on music the *Chaturdaṇḍiprakāsika*,[27] wherein he had "reduced the old twenty-two *svaras* to twelve and designed the present *Vīna* adapted to the twelve *svaras*." "It appears also that Vēnkaṭamakhi was the author of the *Mēḷakarta* that is in vogue at present in Southern India." Gōvinda Dīkshita was also the author of a work on Astrology, since reference is made to his work in the *Tāṇḍava Mālai*.[28] The contemporary works say that Gōvinda Dīkshita had numerous titles such as *Pada vākya pramāṇa pārāvāraha* and *Advaitāchārya*. He was also known by other names as Gōvinda Ādhvari, Gōvinda Yajva and Gōvinda Makhindu.

From the colophon to the *Chaturdaṇḍiprakāsika*, it is known that Gōvinda Dīkshita's wife was called Nāgamāmba, the daughter of one Nārāyana Dīkshita.[29] Gōvinda Dīkshita is said to have been the father of eight sons, of whom only two are well known. Yagñanārāyana Dīkshita has won immortal fame by his works, the *Sāhityāratnākara*, the *Raghunātha Vilāsa Nātaka* and the *Alankāra Ratnākara*; and he also performed the *Sāgnicityā* and the *Sarvatōmukhā* sacrifices.[30] He studied both under his father Gōvinda Dīkshita and his patron Raghunātha, who taught him all the Sāstras including *Vyākarana*, *Tarka*, *Mīmāmsa* and *Vēdānta*. His brother Vēnkaṭēswara[31] was also an all round genius and wrote a number of works. The *Vārtikābharaṇam*, a commentary on the *Tuptīka* of Kumārilaswāmi is classified along with other important works on *Mīmāmsa*. He also wrote the *Karmānta Vārtika*, a commentary on a portion of *Bōdhāyana Srauta Sūtras*, *Sulba Mīmāmsa*, a treatise on

26. ततोंनु रघुनाथेन्द्र मेलविनानिरूप्यते तल्लक्षणं तु सङ्गीत सुधानिधिरिति श्रुते । चेव्वमाच्युत भूपालरघुनाथ नृपाङ्किते अस्मत्तातकृते ग्रन्थे प्रोक्ता श्लोकांलिखामितान् ॥

Chaturdaṇḍiprakāśika.

27. The work is not available in its entirety.

28. Report on the Sanskrit and Tamil Mss. for 1896–97, Madras. The introduction of the *Tāṇḍava Mālai* says (pp. 261 and 262):

இன்னூலென்னூலின் வழித்தெனின் 'மாவிந்தை சோதான் மலரடி வணங்கும் கோவிந்த தீட்சிதீயத்தின் வழித்து' எனவும், கோவிந்த தீட்சிதர் தங் கொள்கையினுற் கூறுகின்ற மாவிந்த நூலின் வழக்கறிந்து தேவிந்திசர் போற்றும் பிண்டியஞ் செல்வன் சீர்கூறி வருவணப்பா வையன் வந்து.

Also the *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, Vol. II, p. 237.

29. 'Sri Gōvindadīkshita Nāgamāmba vara tritīya naṇḍanasya.'—*Chaturdaṇḍiprakāśika*.

30. Colophon to the *Sāhityaratnākara*.

31. He calls himself as the third son of Gōvinda Dīkshita in his *Chaturdaṇḍiprakāsika*, Colophon.

Vēdic Trignometry and also *Sangīta Sāmrājya.* But he is well known by his great work on Music, the *Chaturdaṇḍiprakāsika.* He was also the teacher of Rājachūdāmani Dīkshita, the author of *Rukmaṇī pariṇayam*[32] and of Nīḷakaṇta Dīkshita, a grand nephew of Appayya Dīkshita. One Liṇgādhvari, the author of *Sivasahasranāmabhāshya* and *Vēdartha tatva nirnaya* is said to have been a third son of Gōvinda Dīkshita.[33] Rājachūdāmani Dīkshita in his *Taṇtraśikhāmaṇi,* a work on the *Jaimini Sūtras,* says that Vēnkatamakhi also performed several *yagñas.* Nīlakaṇta Dīkshita, the author of *Siva Līlārṇava* and *Gangāvaṭarana Kāvya,* speaks of Vēnkatamakhi, his master, as belonging to Vasishta gōtra and as the son of Gōvinda Dīkshita.

Gōvinda Dīkshita also appears to have been an authority in *Dharma Sāstras* and also a permanent court of arbitration. His administration of even-handed justice is recorded in an inscription coming from Pattīswaram. The epigraph is dated in the cyclic year Bhava, corresponding to A.D. 1634; and Gōvinda Dīkshita is called by the venerable name of Gōvinda Dīkshitaswāmi. The record registers a settlement made by him when the *paṭṭunūlkārars* (Saurashtrian weavers) presented him with a petition (Vaḷakkumuṛai) as a result of some differences arising in social matters. It appears that there was some difficulty in the order of precedence in the distribution of betel and nuts among the weavers and the merchants (Chettis). Gōvinda Dīkshita hearing both sides, seems to have arbitrated and settled the question amicably; but the exact terms of the settlement are not known. The agreement reached among them by making a person liable to offer a new cloth worth five fanams and 30 arecanuts and 100 betel leaves to the goddess of the local temple, if he should transgress the rules, shows clearly that the settlement was made satisfactorily to both the contending parties, who are said to have made up their minds to observe this rule by making a vow in the name of the king.[34] This record is also the latest so far known of him and this would show that he was living till A.D. 1634. Since Vēnkatamakhi says that he was for some time the minister of Vijayarāghava (accession 1633) it is probable that Gōvinda Dīkshita died shortly after his accession. This is further supported by the fact that no more reference is made to Gōvinda Dīkshita in the contemporary literature. Even Yagñanārāyana's name is not mentioned in the reign of Vijayarāghava Nayaka. The absence of any mention of these two

32. Vēnkatamakhi is also said to be the author of *Jātaka Chandrika*—a treatise on Astrology. This has been translated into English by Mr. B. Suryanarayana Rao.
33. *Sāhityaratnākara,* Introduction by Dr. T. R. Chintamani.
34. 257 of 1927.

names or their whereabouts in the works of Vēnkatamakhi and in the Telugu works of Vijayarāghava, has led some writers to think that both of them must have died about the same period[35] and how far this view is correct, will have to be determined by future research.

Gōvinda Dīkshita's association with the administration of the Nayaks, is also taken as the cause for the latter's patronage of Saivism. Since the Nayaks were all Vaishnavas by their religious persuasion, it is said that their patronage of Saivism was made possible only by the powerful influence of Gōvinda Dīkshita, the great Advaita scholar of the times. Even though his influence over them cannot be undervalued, yet the statement that he was responsible for their catholicity and religious toleration remains to be well established; since the Nayaks in general do not seem to have ill-disposed towards or persecuted any of the rival faiths. Gōvinda Dīkshita, though not a native of Tanjore, soon became one; and a review of his life which starting from humble and poor circumstances soon attained to the zenith of power and honour; shows the high regard and esteem which the Nayaks had for learning and scholarship. His rise to power was made easy by the royal patronage and favour and the high sense of duty, honesty, loyalty and charity which Gōvinda Dīkshita had in abundance, were responsible for his ultimate success as a great administrator. These qualities made him a hero of the day and when he died, the people deified him. It is popularly believed that he spent his last days in the Maṇgalāmbika shrine at Kumbakonam, performing severe penance.

35. Mr. K. Sitaramayya: *The Tanjore Andhra Nayaka Charitam*, p. 252.

CHAPTER VIII.

VIJAYARĀGHAVA NAYAKA.
(A.D. 1633 to A.D. 1673).

I

Achyuta Vijayarāghava Nayaka[1] better known as Mannārudāsa[2] and as Vijayarāghava, was the son of Raghunātha Nayaka and succeeded his father on the throne. For his reign and for the subsequent period, there is available only the evidence of the native chronicles and of the Jesuit letters. With regard to the date of his accession, his epigraphs which are few and far between, remain silent, while the chronicles mention no date at all. Raghunātha Nayaka's inscriptions show, that his rule must have extended down to the year A.D. 1634 since a record of his, dated in the cyclic year Bhava corresponding to A.D. 1634 refers to a vow made by two communities at the feet of Nayakkarayyan, who was no other than Raghunātha himself.[3] The same epigraph mentions Gōvinda Dīkshita also and since it is known for certain, that Gōvinda Dīkshita did not continue as the minister to Vijayarāghava also, the reference to Nāyakkarayyan must be taken to mean Raghunātha, and hence the latter ruled as king for about twenty years from A.D 1614 to A.D. 1634, but his association as co-ruler with his father, dates back atleast from A.D. 1600. Considering the duration of all the individual reigns of the Tanjore Nayaks, it becomes evident that Raghunātha, the most illustrious ruler of this family had but a relatively short reign and his death will have to be placed about A.D. 1634.

It is not known for certain whether he nominated his successor in his own life time and performed the *Yauvarājyābhishēkam.* The internal evidence contained in the *Raghunāthābhyudayam* of Vijayarāghava[4] says that he (Vijayarāghava) performed the sixteen great gifts (shōdasa mahādānas) on a day in the year of his coronation. Chengalvala

1. 461 of 1922 from Papanasam is recorded in the name of Achyuta Vijayarāghava Nayaka. Also *Mannārudāsavilāsam*, page 2.

2. Father Proenza in his letter dated 1659 says that the Nayaka called himself as the son of God Mannāru of Mannārgudi, *La Mission Du Madure*, Vol. III, p. 51.

3. 257 of 1927 from Pattiśwaram (Tanjore District). The Inscription is dated in the cyclic year Bava which corresponds to A.D. 1634.

4. *Sources of Vijayanagar History,* p. 255.

Kālakavi, the author of *Vijayarāghava Vaṃsāvali*[5] and the court poet of Vijayarāghava, has recorded that these sixteen great gifts were made in the cyclic year Srīmukha and in the month of Srāvaṇa; corresponding to August-September, A.D. 1633. These two statements taken together prove that Vijayarāghava's accession must have taken place in the year 1633 and that it was celebrated sometime before the death of Raghunātha.[6] Mr. K. Sitaramayya also agrees with this date and says that Vijayarāghava's coronation took place in A.D 1633. This date is further supported by the evidence contained in the *Tantrasikhāmaṇi* of Rājachūdāmani Dīkshita, a disciple of Vēṇkatamakhi a son of the illustrious Gōvinda Dīkshita. The author says that he wrote his work at the instance of his master, who is referred to have been then the minister in the court of Vijayarāghava. Vēnkatamakhi in the Introduction to his *Chaturdaṇdiprakāśika*, mentions that he, in turn, wrote his work at the instance of his patron, Vijayarāghava Nayaka, the ruler and that too when the latter had already donated the sixteen great gifts. It is also stated therein that Vēnkatamakhi was the establisher (consecrator) of a Chola king and this reference to his part in helping a Chola to the throne must in all probability refer to his help rendered to Vijayarāghava Nayaka himself, as there could not have been then, any possibility for any Chola to have contested the throne. Incidentally this reference shows that the work was written sometime after the coronation of Vijayarāghava and perhaps, when the author himself was occupying the high office of minister.[7] But the date of his work, *Chaturdaṇdiprakāśika* is not known. However, from the chronogram expressed in the *Tantrasikhāmaṇi*, it is clear that it was written in Saka 1559[8] corresponding to A.D. 1637 and it further goes to prove that Vijayarāghava had already become the ruler and that his coronation must have taken place sometime before A.D. 1637.[9] Hence, the reference made to the Nayak's gifts by Vēnkatamakhi in his own work and the date of the *Tantrasikhāmaṇi*, settle the year of Vijayarāghava's coronation finally by saying that his accession to the throne must have been an accomplish-

5. *Vijayavilāsam*, alias *Vijayarāghava Vaṃsāvali* by Kālakavi, published in Cocanada by the Andhra Sāhitya Samsodha Mandal.

6. Raghunātha must have been then fifty-nine years old. The epigraphs mention him from A.D. 1600. Śevappa, according to the *Sangīta Sudhā* lived to see his grandson, Raghunātha. Śevappa's death took place in A.D. 1580.

7. There are more than one reason to believe that Vēnkatamakhi was his minister only for a short time and that too in the early years of his reign.

8. *Tantrasikhāmani*: धीमान्मन्ये शकस्याब्दे will give 9551.

According to the rule अक्षराणां वामतो गतिः it will yield S. 1559=A.D. 1637.

9. Also the *Tanjavur Andhra Nayaka Charitam*, p. 252.

ed fact before the year A.D. 1637, which is the date of the Tantrasikhāmani. These two works, thus bear indirect evidence to the fact that Vijayarāghava's coronation took place in Srimukha (A.D. 1633) the cyclic year given in the *Vijayarāghava Vamśāvali.* In that case Raghunātha Nayaka must have anointed Vijayarāghava, as his successor, shortly before his death.

It is sometimes held that Vijayarāghava, the illegitimate heir, usurped the throne. Vijayarāghava was the son of Raghunātha by his chief consort Kalāvati, the daughter of Vēmparāja and Lakṣhmamma. Vēmparāja, son of Chinna Malla, was Raghunātha Nayaka's uncle.[10] The *Raghunāthābhuyudayam* of Vijayarāghava says that Vijayarāghava had a brother of the name of Rāmabhadra and that the latter is said to have accompanied Raghunātha to the Tōppūr battle field in A.D. 1617. Mr. T. S. Kuppuswami Sastri, in his *History of the Tanjore Nayaks,* says that Rājachūdāmani Dīkshita in his *Ānandarāghava Nātakam* has made mention of two sons of Raghunātha, namely Achyuta and Rāmabhadra.[11] Vijayarāghava in his *Raghunāthābhyudayam* calls Rāmabhadra as *Kumāraratnam.* Of these two, Vijayarāghava would appear to be the eldest son according to the genealogy given in the *Raghunāthābhyudayam.*[12] But it is said in another place of the same work that Rāmabhadra alone accompanied his father Raghunātha to the field of Tōppūr battle and Vijayarāghava Nayaka, the elder son, is not at all mentioned among the participators of Tōppūr battle. But Mr. Hickey says that of the two sons, Vijayarāghava the younger "excelled his elder brother and consequently the kingdom was given over to him on account of his physical powers and mental acquirements. His elder brother was fain to be content with what he got *viz.* the territories of Tirukāttuppalli (near Tanjore) and Pandanallūr (near Kuttalam)." However, Mr. Hickey does not mention the source from where he drew this conclusion. That Raghunātha Nayaka had more than one son is also known from the

10. *Raghunāthābhyudayam;* Sources, p. 254. Also *Mannārudāsavilāsam* and *Ushāparinayam* by Rangājamma, the poetess. The *Ushāparinayam* says that Raghunātha had Chenchi Lakṣmamma and Kalāvatamma for his consorts. Raghunātha is said to have worshipped god Kastūri Krishna for the birth of a son. The God appearing before Lakṣmamma is said to have narrated to her the story of Dēvaki and Yasōdha and that he would now be born to Kalāvati this time. This means that Vijayarāghava was born to Kalāvati.

11. In the Bharatavākyam of the *Ānandarāghava Nātakam,* Rājachūdāmani Dikshita says:

सारस्यं भजतां मनस्सुमनसां सारस्वते शाश्वते श्यामाकार्मुखशेखरे भवतुवः श्यामारुणि चेमुषि
जीयादच्युतरामभद्रजनकः श्रीचिन्नचेव्वाच्युतक्ष्माभृद् भू रघुनाथ भूमिपतिरप्यांचन्द्रमातारकम् .

quoted on p. 264 of Mr. K. Sitaramayya's work.

12. *The Maratha Principality of Tanjore,* p. 43.

evidence contained in the Jesuit letters. A Jesuit letter dated 1659[13] says that when the Kaḷḷans (thieves) plundered the land and set free the prisoners, who were imprisoned in the Vallam fort, there were among them "two brothers of the Nayaka, whom he had shut up in prison, after pulling out their eyes to remove all possibility of succeeding him." This letter shows that Vijayarāghava had two brothers instead of one and the name of the third brother is not known. And from this it is also inferred that these brothers were leading a miserable life as they were blinded and detained as prisoners at the Vallam fort. The reference to Vijayarāghava's 'putting out their eyes to remove all desire on their side of succeeding him,' proves that Vijayarāghava's right to the throne was not above challenge by rivals; and the Jesuit letter incidentally bears witness to his accession only by foul means. Moreover, the internal evidence, even though it remains silent on this quesion, does not any where mention, that Rāmabhadra was ever killed in battle or predeceased Vijayarāghava. Mr. K. Sitaramayya glibly assumes Rāmabhadra to have been an elder brother of Vijayarāghava and concludes, after a careful and critical examination of the available literary sources that Vijayarāghava got the throne through violent usurpation. He advances Vēnkatamakhi's reference in his *Chaturdaṇḍiprakāśika*, that he established a Chōḻa king on the throne, as evidence to this point and to prove that Vijayarāghava got the help of Vēnkatamakhi at the time of his coronation.[14] He further adds that the statements contained in the *Raghunāthābhyudayam* are inconclusive and self-contradictory. For, Vijayarāghava says therein, that he wrote it even while Raghunātha was alive and the latter is said to have offered the succession to him in appreciation of his scholarship. But in the *Prastāvana* (Introduction) it is said that he told his master Tātāchārya, that he had been directed by God Mannāru to write this work and the royal preceptor on hearing this, seems to have blessed him, "called here as the king" and directed him to compose the work in *dvipada* metre. And the *Raghunāthābhuyudayam*[15] begins like an address made by Tātācharya to Vijayarāghava, the ruler. Besides, the same work recounts

13. Bertrand: *La Mission du Madure*, Vol. III, p. 53.
Mentioned in the *Nayaks of Madura*, on page 271-2.

14. *The Tanjore Andhra Nayaka Charitam*, p. 252. The reference to a Chōḻa ruler (Chōḻakṣmājane) must be taken to mean a ruler of Chōḻadēśa of the times and hence Vijayarāghava is referred to. Vēnkatamakhi also calls himself as *Karnātarājyapratishtāpanāchārya*.

15. *Sources*, pp. 256-7. Tātācharya says that he had already obtained the blessings of God Mannāru as well as his own. Tātācharya asked him to write the work embodying his achievements so that the whole may be offered to the deity as a garland (Tāraka Hāra).

the deeds of both Raghunātha and Vijayarāghava and Mr. Sitaramayya asks the pertinent question that if the work was written at the instance of Tātāchārya by Vijayarāghava when he had already become the ruler, how Raghunātha could have appointed him as ruler in appreciation of this work? That the work was really written long after Vijayarāghava's coronation is further established by the fact that it contains references to the help given by Vijayarāghava to the Vijayanagar Emperor, Srirangarāya III, whose accession took place in A.D. 1642. And hence the composition of this work cannot be referred strictly to the time of his accession, but only to a date approximately about a decade after the event. These observations show, that Vijayarāghava had usurped the throne with the aid of Vēnkatamakhi and Mr Sitaramayya adds further colour to the violent temper of Vijayarāghava by referring to his imprisonment of his son Mannāru, as mentioned in the *Tanjāvūri Añdhra Rājula Charitamu.*[16] And the non-co-operation and the disloyalty shown by his subjects on the eve of the Muhammadan invasions upon Tanjore and Vallam about the middle of his reign, are also taken as consequences of Vijayarāghava's violence and lack of popular support. However, Raṇgājamma says that Vijayarāghava was born to Raghunātha and his chief consort (Pattampurāni) by the grace of God. She says that when Raghunātha was praying along with his wives (*Āa sathulanugudi*), Maṇṇāru, the family deity, appeared before him in a vision and blessed him with the birth of a son.[17] This would show that Vijayarāghava was of legitimate birth. The mention of Raghunātha's numerous courtesans as praying along with him, might suggest the possibility that other sons might have been born to him, of whom Rāmabhadra was probably one. The poets of the court did not take the trouble to mention his other sons, as they were not born of his chief consort; and so Rāmabhadra could not have been on the direct line of succession. And hence, Raṇgājamma's account leaves no doubt regarding the legitimacy of Vijayarāghava's succession. And the reference in the *Ānandarāghava Nātakam* to two sons of Raghunātha, namely, Achyuta and Rāmabhadra, is not securely established; and since it is not quite known for certain, that Achyuta Vijayarāghava was also called Achyuta Rāmabhadra, it is not possible to pursue the point further. More evidence would be required to prove that Achyuta and Rāmabhadra refer to the same person Vijayarāghava. However, the general character of the Nayaks themselves and their peaceful rule as borne out by the literary evidence, do not admit the possibility of an usurpation. And

16. *Tanjavūri Añdhra Rājalu Charitam.*
17. *Mannārudāsa Vilāsam.*

hence, on account of all these observations, Vijayarāghava's illegitimate succession cannot be admitted until further research into the still unearthed sources should be forthcoming.[18]

Vijayarāghava ruled for an appreciable length of time and it is said that he was an octogenarian at the time of his death.[19] All are agreed that he died on the battle field. The early years of his reign immediately following the death of Raghunātha, saw the continuance of peace and tranquillity, and the loyalty of Tanjore to Vijayanagar remained unquestioned. Even though his epigraphs do not bear evidence to prove his loyalty to his suzerains the Vijayanagara Emperors, Venkatapati Raya II and Sriranga Raya III, yet it appears certain, in the absence of any contradictory evidence,[20] that he conducted himself as became a loyal feudatory of the empire and did not take advantage of the weak reign of Venkatapati Raya II (1630 to 1642), who was a lover of peace and who did not interfere into the affairs of his feudatories, as he was engaged in repulsing the attacks of the Muhammadan armies of Golkonda and Bijapur converging on his capital. This non-intervention of the Raya in the affairs of the southern Nayak kingdoms was taken full advantage of by the Madura Nayaka, Tirumala, who pursued a vigorous anti-imperial policy and even refused the usual tribute. Venkatapati Raya II had no time to teach Tirumala a sense of subordination; and the Kūniyur plates (1634) of Venkatapati II issued 'in accordance with the wishes of the prosperous and eminent ruler Tirumala,' show that even from the beginning of his reign, Madura displayed only a nominal allegiance and mere outward subordination to the Empire. But Vijayarāghava appears to have remained sincere and loyal towards the Raya and upheld the cause of the empire. And it

18. From the *Raghunāthābhyudayam* of Vijayarāghava and the *Vijayarāghava Vamsāvali,* it is clear that the accession of Vijayarāghava had taken place in the year *Srimukha,* i.e., A.D. 1633, when Raghunātha Nayaka was alive. The literary evidence bears no evidence to show whether Ramabhadra Nayaka, who is said to have been a son of Raghunātha and to have accompanied his father to the Tōppūr battle, was either killed in the action or returned in safety. Even assuming that Ramabhadra did survive the war, one is not able to understand any usurpation on the part of Vijayarāghava in A.D. 1633 when there was Raghunātha Nayaka alive and whose death will have to be placed in the following year, on the authority of his epigraphs.

19. *The Tanjavūri Añdhra Rājula Charitam* and also Taylor's Mss. say that he was eighty years old at the time of his death.

20. Both the internal and foreign evidence agree on the question of Tanjore's loyalty. The *Raghunāthābhyudayam* of Vijayarāghava, contains references to his help given to the Emperor, Srirangarāya. The Jesuit letters also speak of his loyalty and co-operation with the empire.

was perhaps this loyalty of Tanjore to the empire and the emperor's countenance and support to Vijayarāghava in turn, that were responsible for the keeping of Tirumala Nayaka's ambitious and aggressive activities out of Tanjore politics in the early years of his rule and when, the latter was engaged in the fortification of the important citadels of his kingdom and bore also an indifferent attitude towards the empire.[21]

[*Note by the Editor.*]

21. It is however held by Prof. R. Sathianatha Iyer that there is no definite evidence as to the objective of Tirumala, in organising the defences of his kingdom even at the very outset of his rule, though preparedness for war was essential even without any clear objective. He thus concludes:—"The features of the policy of Tirumala Nayaka towards the Vijayanagara emperor developed only later on under the pressure of circumstances. His original idea was probably to humour the emperor with occasional presents without paying regular tribute. But he was not allowed to continue this ambiguous relationship for long." Dr. S. K. Aiyangar holds that Tirumala's attitude towards the emperor depended upon the conditions of the empire for the time being. The diversion of the attention of Bijapur and Golkonda during the Mughal wars with Ahmednagar in the early decades of the 17th century "synchronised with the active movement of Tirumala towards independence in the South." "The policy of the Nayaks of Madura generally . . . . cannot be regarded as having taken into calculation the actual political condition of the times. The empire was struggling for existence during the first forty years of the century......being driven successively from one capital on to another. Penukoṇḍa had to be vacated ...... Chandragiri had to be similarly abandoned; and early in the reign of Sriranga III, Vellore was being laid siege to. These changes did not happen in a short campaign or two, but by persistent effort of no less than three decades. The absorption of the Chennappattana viceroyalty by Mysore enabled her to make a stand against the aggressions of Bijapur.......... The whole brunt of the efforts of Golconda had to be borne by the empire practically single-handed. If Tirumala had only realised the situation and had the foresight to see the political consequences of the disintegrating movement of which he had made himself the sponsor, if not the author, he would have certainly adopted a policy of co-operation with the empire. The question of Tirumala's loyalty or disloyalty therefore depends on the question whether, in the political conditions of his time, he could have foreseen the direct results of his action. The action of his predecessors and their attitude towards the empire must necessarily have made it impossible for him to take an impartial view of the situation at the time. The interests of Mysore and the empire ran together a great way. It was the governments behind these two that were for the time saved from the attacks of the Muhammadans. It cannot but have been clear to these, chief among them Tirumala, that what befell the empire would befall them soon after. If Mysore saved herself by sustained effort, the joint efforts of the emperor and his greater feudatories should have been equally successful. That Tirumala and his friends did not adopt this course of action argues either disloyalty or want of political foresight, either of the alternatives not redounding to the credit of the great Nayak of Madura."

This long quotation shows the part that Tirumala has justly to share of the blame and responsibility for the break up of the Hindu power in the South in the 17th century.

But there is no definite evidence to help us to determine whether Tanjore paid her tribute to the empire regularly.

Vijayarāghava was not destined to enjoy a peaceful reign as his latter years were full of troubles and unsuccessful wars. He was driven by force of necessity and incompetence, to purchase peace at a very heavy price from the Muhammadans. His subsequent vacillating attitude towards Sriranga III, was largely due to his single-handed efforts to maintain his own prestige and the safety of his kingdom against great odds. He was hemmed in by the powerful Madura ruler Tirumala, on the one side and the invading Muhammadans on the other. The political circumstances of the times forced him to give up the policy of co-operation and sympathy towards the emperor. And the political conditions were such that they offered only two alternatives to Vijayarāghava, either to co-operate with the Emperor and thus work out his own ruin at the hands of the Muslims or to abandon him to save himself from immediate destruction.

The accession of Sriranga Raya III to the Vijayanagar throne in A.D. 1642[22] saw the beginning of the troubles and wars, which brought about not only the decline and ruin of the empire itself, but also the fortunes of Tanjore. Sriranga, unlike his predecessor, was a talented and courageous ruler. At the time of his accession the empire was in a state of rapid decline. On the north, the Sultans of Golkonda and Bijapure began to renew their vigorous attacks on the empire, when their own safety was guaranteed by means of settlement made by the Mughal emperor in A.D. 1636. In the South, the viceroyalty of Madura was truculent and tending to become independent. Mysore had already established herself independent under Kanthīrava Narasa and Tirumala Nayaka of Madura began to give up even the show of a nominal allegiance to the empire. The Nayak of Gingee[23] in accordance with their family traditions, joined Tirumala and co-operated with him in his attempt to overthrow the supremacy of the empire. Tanjore alone seems to have remained traditionally loyal. It was under these discouraging political conditions, that Sriranga came to the throne and soon he had to face the

22. His accession is placed on the 29th day of October, A.D. 1642; but an inscription dated A.D. 1630 of his, indicates that he had been selected as Yuvarāja in that year.

23. *The English Factory Records* mention one Tubaki Krishnappa as the Nayak of Gingee.

difficulties on either side.[24] As he had a good training and experience in the administration of government, he reversed the peaceful policy of Venkata II and declared a policy of war against his enemies amongst whom, the opposition of Madura loomed large. For, he thought that the safety of the empire and the power to repulse the Muhammadans lay entirely in the unity and co-operation of his various feudatory rulers. With this object in view, he declared war upon Madura soon after his accession, before proceeding to stabilise his other resources. Vellore was then the Raya's residence and Sriranga Rāya also wanted to regain the lost territories of the empire from the Muhammadans. Thus it becomes evident that Madura was solely responsible for the emperor's serious intervention in the affairs of the South. As subsequent history will show, Sriranga was not destined to work out successfully his ambitious policy and soon he became an emperor without an empire and a refugee in the court of one of his feudatory Nayaks of Bednore. He was the last ruler of his line and with him the history of Vijayanagar comes to an inglorious termination.

From the time when Sriranga began his military operations in the south, the Nayak of Tanjore also had to face serious consequences. According to the evidence of a Jesuit letter,[25] Tirumala Nayaka of Madura, the most resourceful of them, formed an alliance with the Nayaks of Tanjore and Gingee to oppose the onward march of the Emperor by making them believe, that in the opposition of the Emperor lay the prosperity of their respective governments.[26] The same letter speaks of the Tanjore Nayak's betrayal of his confederates' plans against the Emperor by divulging the same to Sriranga. The Emperor, being informed of the schemes of Madura and Gingee, is said to have attacked the latter. Tirumala though disappointed by the actions of the Tanjore Nayak,

24. According to Foster's extracts the Muhammadan kings of Golkonda and Bijapur began to invade the territories of the Hindu King in A.D. 1642 immediately after the death of Venkatapati II. They are even stated to have occupied the whole country on the coast. *Archaeological Survey of India*, 1911-12, p. 193. The Jesuit letters mention the Muhammadan invasion as a result of Srirangarāya's dealings with the southern Nayaks.

25. *La Mission du Madure*, Vol. III, p. 43.

26. The Jesuit letter says that Tirumala concluded a league with Tanjore and Gingee against their sovereign. Mr. Sitaramayya says that Vijayarāghava at first joined them; but when he came to know their disloyal attitude towards Sriranga, he withdrew from the league unhesitatingly. However, the hostile attitude between Tanjore and Madura from 1610 would stand against the possibility of Tanjore entering into a league with Madura.

Vijayarāghava, did not lose courage and made a successful appeal to the Sultan of Golkonda to invade the emperor's territories and to attack Vellore in order to divert Sriranga's attention from the south. His appeal had its desired effect, since Sriranga is said to have retreated to his dominions and gained a victory over the Muhammadans. These must have happened about A.D. 1643.[27]

What happened in the south, consequent upon the emperor's withdrawal from Gingee is not known for certain. However, the political relationships and animosities of the times would show that Madura and Gingee must have been opposed to Tanjore as they could not acquiesce with the latter's betrayal. Some positive offensive must have also taken place between Tanjore and the allies and even though we have no direct evidence on this point, yet Vijayarāghava's claims in his *Raghunāthābhyudayam* that he compelled the Pāṇdya (Madura) and the Tuṇdira (Gingee) chiefs to sue for peace, when they opposed Srirangarāya and that he helped the latter by making those chiefs to wait at his door, must have reference to this period. The above statement refers to Vijayarāghava's forcing the allies to come to terms and it may not be improbable if it is held, that he co-operated with Srirangarāya in his siege of Gingee and also continued it for sometime, even after the emperor's retirement to the North.[28]

The victory gained by Srirangarāya over the Muhammadans did not in any way prove to be final and the Sultan of Golkonda, dismayed

[*Note by the Editor.*]

27. In 1643 and perhaps in the early part of 1644, Sriranga had succeeded in putting down the opposition of Damarla Venkatappa, who had intrigued with Golconda and had also defeated and turned back the Golconda forces which had advanced as far as Pulicat. He had thus contrived to establish himself firmly in power and to push back the advance of Golconda. Sriranga's position was very strong in 1645 when he gave a charter to the English at Madras in September.

A little later, we find in the Dutch records, a reference to the defeat of Sriranga within the walls of Vellore by a Bijapur army, and forced to pay a war indemnity; though two years earlier he had secured the Bijapurian help in return for 15 lakhs of pagodas and 24 elephants. "This (change) was brought about through the intrigues of Mirjumla, who, after suffering the defeat referred to before, negotiated both with Bijapur and with Kantirava Narasa Raja Udaiyar of Mysore to bring about an attack on Vellore."

After this, the rebel Nayaks of the empire seemed to have come back to their proper allegiance and support of the Raya. Foster tells us that "the three rebellious Nayaks were those of Tanjore, Madura and Sinsider (Gingee ?) who inflicted a severe defeat on the royal forces in December 1645 (*The English Factories in India* (1646-50), pp. 24-25).—[Ed.].

28. This seems fairly plausible since subsequent events do not support Vijayarāghava's help to Srirangarāya.

at the success of the Hindu army, made active preparations for another attack. Finding himself insecure, Sriranga again thought that a solution of the problem lay only in the hearty co-operation of his Nayak feudatories of the South. Mr. Sathianatha Aiyar says that 'encouraged by their new attitude, he (the emperor) worked with them to devise plans for the expulsion of the Muhammadans from their recent conquests.'[29] Proenza's letter says that Sriranga 'finding the chance of success but in an alliance with the three Nayaks, invited them to join him' and offered them favourable conditions which were accepted.[30] The same letter adds that Sriranga came to the south 'to better concert together the means of defence and attack.' But according to the same evidence even his new policy did not produce any result. Proenza says that Sriranga spent more than a year in bringing about a good understanding between the Nayaks, during which the Muhammadan armies quietly achieved the conquest of his dominions. But finally, the Nayaks whose selfish interests and jealousies were insuperable, rejected the call for co-operation with Sriranga and so the latter forsaken and abandoned, lived for sometime in the forests lying to the north of Tanjore and from where he proceeded towards the west when a Muhammadan detachment composed of cavalry from Gingee was sent further south in pursuit of the emperor.[31] Since the Jesuit letter refers to this chase and to the subsequent siege of Gingee by the Golkonda forces, it may be taken that these events happened about A.D. 1646 which is the date of the fall of Gingee fort[32] into the Muhammadan hands.

The Jesuit evidence would have us believe that Tanjore also was opposed to the emperor when it says that Sriranga invited the three Nayaks and offered them favourable terms. But from the general attitude and character of the Tanjore Nayaks, it is not possible to entertain any suspicion as regards the loyalty of Tanjore and the arrival of Srirangarāya near Tanjore on the eve of his proposed negotiations, would only confirm Vijayarāghava's more friendly attitude towards the empire. However, nothing tangible was achieved as Proenza refers to the break-

29. Sriranga III of Vijayanagar. (Third Oriental Conference Report). The reference to the new attitude of the Nayaka was perhaps due to the exertions of Vijayarāghava mentioned before.

30. Bertrand III, p. 43. Sriranga's invitation to the Nayaks and his offer of favourable conditions imply that he no more stood on his technical rights as emperor regarding his relations with his feudatories.

31. Bertrand, p. 43. Sriranga's flight from Tanjore was mainly to escape from the attack of the Muhammadans.

32. Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari, 'History of Gingee,' p. 11. Also 'The Nayaks of Madura', p. 133 and Note 60.

down of the negotiations.[33] Since it is not mentioned that Vijayarāghava upheld the cause of the empire but strangely enough allowed Sriranga to go to the west, the loyalty of Tanjore calls for some explanation. Proenza's letter referring to the conquest of Vellore and other territories by the Muhammadan army of Golkonda and to the retirement of Sriranga from Tanjore, speaks of the siege of Gingee by Golkonda. Thus it becomes clear that Sriranga despaired of the prospects of a joint action on the part of his feudatory Nayaks, and disheartened, by the onward march of the Muhammadan forces which were sent in pursuit of him, had to leave Tanjore, leaving Vijayarāghava to his own fate. Perhaps the emperor thought it insecure and also futile to remain at Tanjore and to oppose his enemies with the aid of Vijayarāghava alone. Moreover, the recent success of Sivappa Nayaka of Ikkēri (Bednore) in raising the second siege of Vellore for a time and his momentary victory[34] would have tempted the emperor to join him, so that he could try his chance of winning success by attacking his enemies from the rear. Thus Vijayarāghava was left without any help from the empire, when he was attacked by a detachment of Muslim cavalry. The old animosities between him and Madura would not allow any possibility of entering into an alliance against the Muhammadans and it was this uttter helplessness and lack of self-confidence that led him to adopt the extremely unwise but the expedient policy of purchasing peace with his enemies by 'surrendering

33. What led to the failure of this proposed union is not known. Perhaps Madura's growing idea of independence and her suspicion of Tanjore were responsible, besides other factors, for the termination of the negotiations.

[*Additional note by the Editor.*]

"Tirumala Nayaka, seeking safety in his unsound policy, committed a second folly, which brought about the ruin of all these kingdoms. His ambassadors went, in his name, to treat with Idal Khan (Adil Shah) or the king of the Dakhan who sent him 17,000 horse. With this imposing cavalry and 30,000 infantry of his own, he marched to Gingi. But the Muhammadans of the two armies easily came to an understanding among themselves. The *subah* of Golkonda concluded a treaty with the general of Idal Khan and retired to the kingdom of Bisnagar to consolidate its conquest; while the 17,000 cavalry of Idal Khan, along with some regiments of infantry continued the siege of Gingi which they were called for to defend. The 30,000 Madura infantry entered into the place, and joined the troops of the king of Gingi...... Soon disagreements and diversions sprang up among these men (the besieged) so diversified in nationality and manners. A revolt broke out, in the midst of the general confusion, the gates of the citadel were thrown open to the enemy who rushed into it, and delivered the town, the richest in all these countries, to pillage." (The Jesuit letter, quoted above.)

34. *Sources: Sivatatvaratnākara.*

himself at discretion.'[35] Proenza says that the arrival of a detachment composed of cavalry in Tanjore itself 'created a panic in the citadel.'

Tirumala Nayaka stood firm by the side of the Nayak of Gingee and when the latter was besieged by the forces of Golkonda, he was able to enlist the help of Bijapur against the besiegers. He is said to have despatched an army composed of 30,000 infantry along with 17,000 cavalry supplied by Adil Shah, the Bijapur Sultan, to raise the siege of Gingee. When these two armies arrived at Gingee, the general of Golkonda seeing that it was led by the Bijapur general, the Khan-i-Khanan, who was also a faithful follower of Islam like himself, concluded an agreement with him by which the Golkonda general retired to the North, leaving the siege of Gingee in the hands of the Bijapur general. The Madura army, again disappointed, now joined the forces of Gingee and made a protracted siege possible. But a revolt among the besieged, who were composed of heterogeneous groups, soon upset all calculations of success and the Muhammadans easily captured the city. Proenza speaks of the immense booty 'consisting of silver, gold, pearls, and precious stones of inestimable value' captured by the enemies.

Encouraged by the successful siege and capture of Gingee, the Muhammadan army marched against the Nayaks of Tanjore and Madura. According to the Jesuit account, Vijayarāghava at first displayed his cowardice by hiding himself in the inaccessible forests of his kingdom, but had to come out when his territory was overrun by the enemies, who carried plunder and devastation wherever they went. Vijayarāghava had to purchase peace again at a heavy cost by meekly submitting to the will of the conqueror.[36] Proenza finds fault with Vijayarāghava for his submission, without the least defence and also for his short-sighted policy of not attempting to advance the cause of the empire,[37] even after the re-

35. Bertrand III, p. 45. Mr. Nelson says that Vijayarāghava submitted by sending an embassy to Gingee. *Vide* the *Madura Manual*, p. 134.
[*Additional note by the Editor.*]

The Jesuit letter thus tells us about the doings of the Nayaks of Tanjore:— "The Golkonda army advanced on the territory of Gingi. The Nayak of Tanjore knew that he could not give pitched battle to an enemy whose mere number had created so much terror, but he could no longer count on his ally of Madura whom he had scandalously betrayed. Obliged to take sides, he.......delivered himself up to the king of Golkonda and concluded with him a treaty by which he surrendered at discretion." There is much that cannot be cleared up in the above passage regarding the conduct of the ruler of Tanjore, for which an elaborate explanation is offered here.

36. *La Mission du Madure*, Vol. III, p. 47. Also Taylor's *Catalogue Raisonée*, III, p. 40.

37. *Ibid.*

turn of the enemies. But a close study of the political movements of the times would only support the stand taken by Vijayarāghava, however bad and impolitic it was. Sriranga's leaving Tanjore helpless at a critical time, only exposed Vijayarāghava to the attacks of the Muhammadan and Madura forces. However strong and well disciplined the Tanjore forces might have been, yet, on account of her small size and slender resources and middle position, she could not offer an effective check against the torrential stream of the Muhammadan advance. Besides, his loyalty to the empire which led him to betray Madura and Gingee, now made him an irreconcilable foe to Madura and so no alliance with her was possible. Madura, with the idea of achieving independence, would not join Tanjore, which was for the continuance of the Empire. It was this utter helplessness that greatly handicapped him in his active co-operation with Sriranga Rāya. Under these circumstances, only two alternatives remained for immediate solution and Vijayarāghava had to choose between his own safety by submitting to the enemy and taking up the cause of the emperor at his own risk. In the latter course he could not think of joining Mysore which was then loyal to the emperor, because the distance and the immediate presence of Madura between these two would not be suitable for carrying on any united action. Hence it becomes apparent that Vijayarāghava's preferring his own safety was largely the outcome of political sagacity and statesmanship and cannot be called either want of sympathy or short-sightedness or disloyalty. However, his purchase of peace at a very heavy cost definitely proves that he was very much wanting in leadership and courage as well.

This event which happened about A.D. 1646 was a shadow of the coming evils and according to the Jesuit evidence, Khan-i-Khanan, the Bijapur general, invaded Tanjore immediately after his conquest of Madura[38] and levied a huge ransom. Proenza says that the general

38. The advance of Khan-i-Khanan upon Mysore was the result of Tirumala's invitation made to Bijapur. The causes for this second Bijapur invasion are said to have been Mysore's protection given to Sriranga and the latter's attempt to regain his territories with the aid of Mysore. Proenza says that Sriranga with an army of Mysoreans 'entered the field, reconquered a part of his provinces and repulsed the army of Golkonda which advanced to attack him.' Prof. Sathianatha Aiyar says that Madura was not all conquered but was obliged to pay subsidy for the help which Tirumala received. *Nayaks of Madura*, p. 131.

Mr. Nelson referring to the event of this period says that Raghunātha and Tambi Sētupati had annexed Pattukkōttai, Mannār Koil, Dēvakōttai, Arantangi, Tiruvarur and Tanjore. But he does not mention the source. *The Madura Manual*, p. 131.

raised large contributions and returned to Bijapur, full of plunder.[39] The second invasion of Bijapur upon Mysore and its ultimate success brought to an end the ambitious policy of Srirangarāya and Kanthirava Narasa (1638 to 1659) humbled and frustrated in his policy of Vijayanagar expansion, and finding his hospitality and generosity towards Sriranga were the sources of all his recent troubles, withdrew his co-operation and finally gave up the cause of the emperor. Since this is said to have happened in 1653, the second Bijapur invasion, must have taken place about the same year. Sriranga, thus abandoned for a second time, had to lead a miserable life in the jungles on the confines of his kingdom.[40] The disappearance of Sriranga from the political field marked the rapid decay of the empire. In the destruction of the empire, Tanjore lost a valuable protector and trusted friend, though from this time onwards, Vijayaraghava Nayaka ceased to be a depen-

39. Bertrand, p. 48.

40. Even though there are pieces of evidence to show that he appealed to Shah-Jahan for help through Aurangzeb by offering himself to become a convert to Islam and that he also made attempts in 1657 and 1658 for the recovery of his kingdom, yet nothing intelligible is known about him after A.D. 1659. "Sriranga III of Vijayanagar" by Prof. R. Sathianatha Iyer. However epigraphs and literature refer to his remaining alive as refugee under Sivappa Nayaka of Ikkēri until A.D. 1675. See *'The Nayaks of Madura,'* p. 131 Dr. S. K. Ayyangar places (p. 131 note) his death about 1675. Prof. R. S. Aiyar says that the date of his death cannot be taken later than that of Shivaji's *i.e.* A.D. 1680.
[*Additional note by the Editor*]

When Mir Jumla fell out of favour with his master of Golkonda, on account of the intercession of Shah Jahan on his behalf, Sriranga tried to recover his power. A Dutch letter from Batavia tells us that about January 1657, Sriranga had captured Tirupati and was planning the conquest of the neighbouring districts. These must have happened in 1656. But the Raya's cause was injured by the faithlessness and disaffection of his own officers, *e.g.* the defection of his general, Koneri Chetty. Early in 1658, he was defeated by Tubaki Krishnappa, who was in the service of the enemy, Mir Jumla and who was himself attacked by the Golkonda forces. In 1659 the trade of Madras was greatly injured by the continued operations of the armies of the Raya and of the Muslims in its neighbourhood.

Even in 1661 the Raya continued to enjoy some authority. But the English guns and gunners in the service of the Muslims had contributed to his defeat in many places. Dr. S. K. Aiyangar holds that 1668 A.D. definitely marks the passing of the Carnatic from the Vijayanagar rule to Muslim sway; and after this date Sriranga Raya had to shift for himself outside this region. In 1661-2, the new Madura Nayak, Chokkanatha, planned boldly to re-establish the Raya in his power, to restore Gingi to its Nayak line and to remove the evils that had resulted from the mistaken policy of Tirumala Nayaka. He contrived to defeat the Nayak of Tanjore, reduced him to submission and turned back the Bijapur generals Maula and Sagosi (Shahji) back into Gingi. Then followed an invasion of the Bijapur troops and a second invasion by the Madura forces into the Tanjore country. (See *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XVIII, Part I, pp. 39-41.)

dent ruler. The disappearance of the empire was followed by the expansion of the Muhammadan armies of Bijapur and Golkonda farther south. Thevenot remarks that "the king of Golkonda seized those dominions of the Coast of Coromandel which lay conveniently for him and the king of Bijapur, having taken what lay next to him, pursued his conquest as far as the Cape of Negapatam," and adds that the kingdom of Bijapur is bounded on the south by the country of the Nayak of Madura, "whose territories reach to the Cape Comorin." The vassalage of Vijayarāghava Nayaka to Bijapur is proved by the observation of Thevenot:—"There are many Naiques to the south of St. Thomas who are sovereigns. The Nayaks of Madura is one. He of Tangiour (Tanjore) is at present a vassal to the king of Bijapur."[41] Robert Orme says that in 1652 the Carnatic was invaded by the armies of Viziapore (Bijapur) and Golkonda acting separately; but agreed it is supposed in the objects and division of their conquests which were accomplished in 1656.[42]

These observations of the Jesuits and other writers show that the supremacy of Vijayanagar in the south came to an end by A.D. 1646 and by A.D. 1656 the Muhammadan supremacy was established in its stead. The kingdom of Gingee was completely annexed, that of Tanjore became a vassal and Madura paid yearly tributes. From this time onwards Vijayarāghava's foreign policy was mainly concerned with Madura, as he had adopted a policy of submission towards the Muhammadans. After Khan-i-Khanan's leaving Tanjore about A.D. 1653, Vijayarāghava was allowed to rule peacefully for a short period till A.D. 1659. During this short time, Vijayarāghava was perhaps interested in the fortification of the important places of his kingdom even though the internal and foreign evidence do not prove this conclusively.[43]

By reading between the lines of the Jesuit letters one is led to think that Vijayarāghava by his short-sighted policy and ruinous re-

41. Travels, Pt. III, Pp. 91 and 105.
42. *Orme: Historical Fragments*, p. 62.
43. Bertrand, III p. 50. Father Proenza says that 'the king of Tanjore instead of imitating his (Muthuvirappa Nayaka) example' *i.e.*, in fortifying the citadel and on p. 51 he says that 'the Vallam fort by its natural position and fortifications which art had added it' was considered impregnable. The *Tanjāvūri Añdhra Rājula Charitamu* says that he was responsible for the extension of the fort of Tanjore and adds that the forts of Arantāngi, Pattukōttai, Relāthalli, Tiruppattūr were all begun and completed in one day. Another tradition says that he built the forts of Tirukkāttuppalli, Vallam, Pandanallūr and Sākkōttai in addition to those mentioned in the *Añdhra Rājula Charitamu.* Since subsequent events were full of wars and there is also no reference to show that any of these forts was damaged, it may be said that Vijayarāghava utilised this short period in repairing and fortifying the vulnerable points of his kingdom.

ligious zeal and fervour, neglected his duty of protecting the people from foreign aggression. By his own neglect of duty and want of statesmanship and diplomacy, he made Tanjore a prey to his enemies. About the same time the contemporary Madura Nayaks were devoting their attention in the fortification of their strongholds. Tirumala does not seem to have entered into open hostilities with Tanjore as he was engaged in the settlement of the affairs of the Sētupatis of Ramnad and in his expedition against Mysore.[44] He died in A.D. 1659 and was succeeded by Muthu Vīrappa Nayaka in February of that year.[45] He differed from Tirumala in his policy towards the Muhammadans, and shortly after his accession, he added to the fortifications of Trichinopoly and placed it under the command of his general Liṇgama Nayaka, so that Trichinopoly might serve as an impregnable defence against future Muhammadan invasions. The Jesuit letter says that he even refused to pay the tribute to Bijapur. The extensive measures of defence taken by him must have had their consequence upon the neighbouring Tanjore and the Jesuit evidence records an appeal made by Vijayarāghava to Adil Shah of Bijapur in that year, instead of co-operating with the Nayak of Madura.[46] Even though there is nothing to show that Muthu Virappa was at war with Vijayarāghāva, yet, the reference to the latter's appeal to Bijapur for help shows that the old family feud between these two houses continued unabated and there was also distrust and suspicion among them. What became of Vijiyarāghava's appeal to Bijapur is not known, but from the subsequent events it becomes clear, that Bijapur was indifferent towards him. However, his appeal seems to have enabled the Sultan to understand that the time was best suited for carrying on a conquest of the south. Encouraged by the absence of unity among the Southern Nayaks, the Sultan despatched a large army under 'Sagosi' and 'Mula' with the object of conquering the Nayaks' dominions. The army arriving at Trichinopoly and soon finding that the fort was well fortified and warlike preparations made for her defence, moved towards the east and made a surprise attack upon Tanjore.

The fierce advance of the enemies upon Tanjore itself made Vijayarāghava to lose courage and to take shelter in some other place, without offering them battle. The Jesuit letter says again that Vijayarāghava

44. For an account of the measures of defence taken by Tirumala, see *The Nayaks of Madura*, p. 144.

45. '*The Nayaks of Madura,*' p. 150.

46. '*The Nayaks of Madura,*' p. 152. Prof. Sathianatha Aiyar says that Muttu Virappa Nayaka 'urged the Nayak of Tanjore in vain to join him.' The Jesuit letters, Bertrand III p. 269 makes no reference to this attitude.

fled to Vallam leaving Tanjore to be defended by his 'son-in-law.' The date of this attack according to the same source was 19th of March 1659. Proenza[47] says:—"This town, situated in the midst of a fertile plain, was not inferior to the strong citadels of Europe. Defended by strong artillery and numerous troops, provisioned for several years, it could defy the besiegers, who had not a single cannon at their service. The commander of the fort, a son-in-law of the Nayak, boldly ascended the ramparts, and was struck by an arrow which inflicted a light wound on him; at once his bravery vanished, and he gave up the place shamelessly. The *rajas* also protested against his cowardice. These are warriors of a very noble caste and renowned for their courage. They use only the sword and the lance; they scorn the bow and the gun, and leave as they themselves say, these arms to cowards who dare not face danger closely. Their maxim is never to retreat before the enemy, to conquer or die is to them a sacred law. Faithful to this law, they threw themselves desparately admist the conquerors and met with a glorious death, which they preferred to a dishonourable life." 'Sagosi' and 'Mula' capturing the fort without hard fighting, proceeded towards Maṇṇārkōil (Maṇṇārgudi), which was 'situated seven leagues east of the former' and which contained a well fortified fort. This fort was also easily taken by the Muhammadans. Encouraged by their easy success they advanced towards Vallam, 'three leagues south-east of Tanjore,' where they were informed that the Nayak had taken his shelter along with his family and hoarded treasures. The fort of Vallam situated 'on a steep rock within which ramparts are erected with incredible labour and expense' and by its natural position and fortification was an impregnable one and Vijayarāghava, it is gathered from the Jesuit accounts, seemed to have determined to defend it with all his energy. Proenza again says 'when the hour of peril was rung, he had no more faith in his courage than in the fidelity of his subjects; he sacrificed his dearest and fled to the forests of Talavarāyan,[48] his vassal. The army of Idal Khan (Adil Shah) was not even put to the trouble of attacking this third citadel. Those who defended it, frightened by the capture of the two principal towns despaired to resist an enemy so formidable. Besides, actuated only by the feeling of self-preservation, without any kind of devotion for a king who deserved so little of them, they believed that they would be safer in their impenetrable forests than behind their ramparts. As soon as night came, to cover them, they escaped one after

47. Bertrand III, p. 270. Proenza's letter from Trichinopoly dated 1659. *The Nayaks of Madura*, pp. 270-271.

48. Who this vassal was that gave Vijayarāghava shelter is not easy of identification.

another, without noise and with such perfect agreement, that, at daybreak, the commander found himself in a deserted town with only a few faithful followers. They themselves made up their mind to follow the fugitive; but when going off, they wished to take their share of the treasures which they abandoned to the enemy; they opened the coffers of the Nayak, took what they could carry of the most precious in gold, pearls and precious stones, and fled to the most inaccessible forests. 'Their strength was not in proportion to their greed.' When the commander himself fled in a panic, the Kaḷḷans (wild tribes) of the neighbourhood visited the fort before it was surrounded by the Muhammadan forces and took possession of the 'fabulous treaures which till then were not counted but in measuring them by the bushal.' The fort was emptied of its riches and was thus saved 'from the rapacity of the Muhammadans.' The thieves while searching for the treasures came across the prisons which they threw open and thus set free a large number of prisoners. Proenza calls this 'the happiest episode of this war' and adds that those treasures which were the fruits of the greedy kings and the labour of the poor, when removed gave to all people an honest life. By the time the Muhammadan armies arrived at Vallam the palace was left barren. 'Sagosi' and 'Mula' finding the fort empty and evacuated and bereft of all riches, is said to have put a small garrison in charge of it. Proenza writing sometime after this event (March 19, 1659) says that the Muhammadans have already been 'for several months in possession of this beautiful and fertile country' and adds that at the time of his writing it was not possible for him to say definitely whether they would remain there or go back to their country collecting the riches. In another letter dated 1662, he again says that 'Mula' and 'Sagosi' had occupied the kingdoms of Gingee and Tanjore 'since two years' and 'seemed determined to fix their dominions there.' From the same letter it is also gathered that they had to abandon their project of colonisation, when a famine broke out as a consequence of this invasion and havoc done, to human life. Proenza says that the famine was severe in all this country and was followed by the migration of the people to the neighbouring places like Madura and Satyamaṅgalam, where the ravages were less felt. The Muhammadans themselves suffered much from this pestilence. Their exposure in the open air of dead bodies without burying them, soon developed an epidemic disease resulting in increased mortality. To this was added the disunion among the officers and generals of the army. 'Mula' reduced to this sad plight, tried negotiations with the Nayaks of Tanjore and Madura by saying that he would leave the land if they should agree to advance him the tribute of three years. Vijayarāghava Nayaka, having lost everything already and with nothing more to lose betook himself in the forests, while Madura

paid no heed as she was confident of her strength. And both of them realising the adverse circumstances under which the Muhammadan army was suffering remained quiet. 'Mula' finding that further delay would mean additional loss of men and lives, left Tanjore and laid siege to the fort of Trichinopoly, where again he found the task quite beyond his skill and resources. Bands of Kaḷḷans (robber chiefs) caused considerable havoc and further damage to the misfortunes of 'Mula,' who at-last finding it very hard to continue the siege for long retired on receiving a moderate sum from the Madura ruler, Muttu Virappa Nayaka.[49] Thus, for the fourth time, we find Vijarāghava Nayaka being attacked by the Muhammadan forces and on this occasion he seemed to have suffered much on account of his cowardice and want of popularity with his subjects. Proenza speaks of the Tanjore people, who were left unprotected by the Nayaka 'as those who had no devotion for a king who deserved so little of them.' Even the army was tired of his rule and it did not co-operate with him fully at times of danger. And Vijayarāghava could not even continue his self-made policy of submission and surrender to the enemy, as a result of these frequent invasions and hence we find him adopting a new policy of moving with his men and money from one place to another and thus avoiding the enemy. Vijayarāghava's extreme piety and devotion to God and his intense religious zeal stood by him as a great consoler and he, a philosopher king understood success or failure as only a manifestation of the Supreme Will.

However, Vijayarāghava soon after the departure of 'Mula' to Gingee, occupied Tanjore. Referring to the miserable life led by him, Proenza mentions that the robbers, the former plunderers of the Nayak's treasures in the Vallam fort, took pity on him and restored to him a part of his riches, saying that they plundered it only to preserve it safe.[50] Thus with the active aid of the Kaḷḷans, Vijayarāghava succeeded in re-establishing his authority in the land but as misfortune would have it, he was not destined to rule peacefully even for a short time.

Muttu Vīrappa Nayaka of Madura died shortly afterwards after a rule of about six months and he was succeeded by Chokkanatha in July 1659. His accession saw the revival of the old long-standing animosities between Tanjore and Madura and also the beginning of internal trou-

49. For an account of the expedition of 'Sagosi' (Shahji) and 'Mula' (Mustafa Khan), see 'A Great Maratha Service to South India in the Pre-Shivaji Epoch' by Rao Saheb C. S. Srinivasachari—*Sardesai Commemoration Volume*, pp. 76-77.

50. *La Mission Du Madure*, Vol. III, p. 53.

bles. As he was only sixteen at the time of his accession, he left the administration in the hands of his Pradhāni, Rāyasam and Dalavāy, who, forming a close association among themselves, were bent upon furthering their own selfish interests. The Jesuit evidence[51] says that Chokkanatha declared a policy of conquest on the advice of his ministers in order to drive away the Muhammadans. With this object, Liṅgama Nayaka was despatched with forty thousand men to attack 'Sagosi,' who was then encamping at Gingee. Liṅgama is said to have received bribes from the Muhammadan general and prolonged the campaign, while in Madura, the Pradhāni and the Rāyasam were conspiring together to put an end to the life of Chokkanatha and to instal his brother on the throne. The news of this projected plot was revealed to the Nayak by a lady of his court and he lost no time in taking a bold action. The eyes of the Pradhāni were pulled out and the Rāyasam was murdered and Chokkanatha captured the power from them. Too weak to oppose Liṅgama Nayaka, he pretended friendship with him only to take him captive at a suitable opportunity and punish him accordingly. But Liṅgama, whose conscience rendered him suspicious, escaped from Trichinopoly and joined 'Sagosi.' Proclaiming hostility towards Chokkanatha, he besieged Trichinopoly with twelve thousand cavalry. According to the Jesuit evidence,[52] Vijayarāghava held out assurances to Liṅgama of his help in his attack upon Madura. The beginning of the siege was favourable to the allies and Liṅgama thought of capturing Chokkanatha alive. The latter given to understand that the failure of his men was due to the vile and treacherous Pradhāni, soon assumed the command of his army in person and made strong efforts to repulse Liṅgama and 'Sagosi.' Soon victory was on the side of Madura and the enemies withdrew to Tanjore. Chokkanatha encouraged by the victory, ordered his troops to advance upon Tanjore and attack Vijayarāghava Nayaka for co-operating with 'Sagosi' and Liṅgama. Vijayarāghava again helpless surrendered to the enemy, while his allies fled to Gingee. Since these events are recorded in a Jesuit letter[53] dated A.D. 1662, the invasion of Madura upon Tanjore in order to punish Vijayarāghava for helping Liṅgama, must have happened between 1660

51. *La Mission du Madure*, Vol. III, p. 121; and *'The Nayaks of Madura,'* p. 155. Prof. Sathianatha Aiyar says that Chokkanatha was not responsible for this policy of conquest, since the whole project was worked out by the three officers in order to create confidence in the people. And when Liṅgama, the Daḷavāy, heard of the Nayak's activities he turned an enemy, when the Nayak wanted to deal with him severly.

52. *La Mission du Madure*, Vol. III, p. 123.

53. *La Mission du Madure*, Vol. III, p. 119. Letter of Proenza, dated 1662.

and 1661. This victory of Madura over Tanjore proved to be the first of its kind, ever since the foundation of the Tanjore Nayakship.

The Jesuit letter speaking on the troubled political conditions of this period, says that Tanjore suffered serious consequences on account of these frequent attacks. 'The people abandoned their homes and took refuge in Madura and some at San Thomé. The excessive and fatal religious zeal of Vijayarāghava made him culpably negligent of his subjects' sufferings. To all the mishaps due to the Muhammadan scourge and famine, was added the 'inhuman exploitation of the situation by the Dutch, prompted by mercenary motives.'[54] A Jesuit writer[55] says, 'shame, eternal shame to the Dutch, who cruelly speculated on the misery of the Indians. They enticed them to the coast by the bait of abundant food; then, when their number became pretty large and their strength a little recouped, they piled them up in their ships and transported them to other countries to be sold as slaves.'

The retirement of Chokkanatha from Tanjore after Vijayarāghava's abject surrender gave the land some sort of nominal peace. In this short period nothing seems to have happened in Tanjore except the preparations of Vijayarāghava to wreak vengeance upon Madura, as he could not reconcile himself with his submission to Chokkanatha. The recent invasion was so significant, as to induce him to action. But as he found that by himself he could not face Chokkanatha, he was waiting for an opportunity to display his enemity openly. Soon the longed-for opportunity came in A.D. 1663 when 'Vanamian' the able general of Bijapur came to the south on an expendition and laid siege to Trichinopoly.[56] The Jesuit evidence again tells us that 'Vanamian' was helped by Vijayarāghava of Tanjore, who is said to have been the enemy and opposed Madura 'against the fidelity of treaties.' The Bijapur general laid waste the neighbouring territories but finding that his threats and show of power as well as his several attacks were of no avail, he opened negotiations with Chokkanatha and asked for a ransom as a condition of his leaving his kingdom. The latter availed himself of this and purchased peace by paying a large contribution in money and thus saved himself for the moment from the horrors of war. But he could not

54. *'The Nayaks of Madura'*, p. 157.

55. *La Mission du Madure*, Vol. III, pp. 124-5.

56. The causes for this expedition are not known for certain. Perhaps the news of the defeat of Sagosi and Lingama at the hands of Chokkanatha, might have induced the Bijapur Sultan for further action. The co-operation of Vijayarāghava of Tanjore with 'Vanamian' and the Jesuit reference to Tanjore's betrayal also admit the probability of Tanjore seeking the help of the Sultan as against Madura.

allow Vijayarāghava unpunished for his betrayal in joining 'Vanamian' in his siege of Trichinopoly, by breaking his treaty with Chokkanatha made recently. Accordingly, the Nayak of Madura marched upon Tanjore for a second time with a large army and soon captured the fort of Vallam which 'by its position and by the rich lands which depend on it' was efficiently garrisoned. Vijayarāghava was forced to surrender and he made peace by agreeing to the timely conditions imposed by the victor. The fort of Vallam which formerly belonged to Madura, but which was transferred to Tanjore by an order of Achyutha Raya at the commencement of the rule of the Tanjore Nayaks in exchange for Trichinopoly, was now lost to Madura by Vijayarāghava as a consequence of this defeat. Chokkanatha Nayaka's annexation of the Vallam fort is confirmed by the Jesuit evidence, which speaks of his return 'after leaving a good garrison in the fortress of which he has just made the conquest.'[57] The loss of Vallam must have happened in A.D. 1663, since John Nieuhoff speaks of Vijayarāghava's recapturing it in A.D. 1664.[58] Nieuhoff says "the Nayak of Madura had been for a considerable time in war with the Nayak of Tanjore and taken many places from him; at my time the war was renewed with more vigour than ever; and the Nayak of Tanjore having gathered a great army attacked the Nayak of Madura so briskly that he took from him, in a few days, all the places he had conquered from him before. The army of the Nayak of Madura being much disheartened by the victories of their enemies, the Nayak of Madura sent to me to Koylang his chief governor desiring assistance from the Company; but as it was not our interest to engage on any side, I excused it as handsomely as I could."[59] And from this it is known that Vijayarāghava recaptured the fort of Vallam and that the latter remained under Chokkanatha only for a very short time. Mr. K. Sitaramayya says that this was the first victory won by Vijayarāghava Nayaka. As Chokkanatha Nayaka was engaged with the reorganisation of the affairs of the Sētupatis of Ramnad and also with the preparations for an attack on Mysore,[60] and as he was not able to enlist the co-operation of the

57. Proenza in his letter dated 1665 speaks of Vijayarāghava as having been 'defeated and fleeced by Sokkalinga', whom he had notoriously betrayed. *La Mission du Madure*, Vol. III, pp. 164-5. Since the letters were written at a regular interval of three years, the reference to this war will have to be placed in 1663. However the reconquest of Vallam is not mentioned by him.

58. *The Nayaks of Madura*, p. 159.

59. John Nieuhoff: *Voyages and Travels into Brasil and the East Indies*, II, 1703, p. 297.

60. For an account of these wars, see *the Nayaks of Madura*, pp. 159-162.

Dutch,[61] he perhaps allowed Vijayarāghava without opposition, to re-occupy his fort. However, as subsequent events would show, he was preparing for a big offensive against Tanjore.[62]

From A.D. 1664 to A.D. 1673 there was comparative peace and calm in the country[63] and the Nayaks of Madura and Tanjore were busy preparing for their mutual war. The *Tanjāvūri Andhra Rājula Charitamu* says that Vijayarāghava fortified the forts of Tanjore, Arantāngi, Pattukkōttai, Tirupattur and Rēlatalli.[64] The enemity between Tanjore and Madura grew violent and each wanted to get rid of the other. And Madura was the only insuperable enemy of Vijayarāghava. Though his policy was one of submission towards the Muhammadans, yet he could not think of adopting the same towards Madura, as she was also a former feudatory of Vijayanagar like himself. Ever since the foundation of the Tanjore Nayakship as a dependency of Vijayanagar, the Nayaks of Madura had entertained a policy of distrust and hatred towards her. And the latter's interest in the affairs of the empire and her loyalty and the wars waged by Achyutappa Nayaka and Raghunātha Nayaka on behalf of the Vijayanagar emperors against Madura, all these were looked upon by Madura with hatred, since they were not quite in agreement with her idea of independence. The recent help given by Vijayarāghava to 'Sagosi' and 'Mula' and also to 'Vanamian' in their attacks on Trichinopoly, only added momentum to the already existing indignation of Madura. The absence of strong and powerful rulers on the Tanjore throne and the inability and helplessness on the part of the empire to take up her cause, gave Madura an opportunity to wreak vengeance upon Tanjore.

61. Nieuhoff's reference to his refusal of Chokkanatha Nayaka's request in A.D. 1664 was perhaps due to the friendly relations that existed between the Dutch at Negapatam and Vijayarāghava Nayaka. The Dutch took Negapatam from the Portuguese in A.D. 1658 and in that year the Dutch got a deed from the Nayaka (Nammikka Śāsanam: deed of assurance) through one Cinnanna Chetty by which their claim to Negapatam was recognised. One of the clauses of the deed required the Dutch to entertain feelings of friendship and loyalty towards Vijayarāghava. (Two Negapatam grants from Batavia by Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri *Proceedings of meetings of The Indian Historical Records Commission*, Vol. XIV, p. 39).

62. The change of capital from Madura to Trichinopoly in A.D. 1665 and the fortifications carried out at the latter place were all undertaken with a view to attacking Tanjore. *The Nayaks of Madura*, p. 160 and *The La Mission III*, pp. 181-2.

63. Andre Friere in his letter dated 1666 refers to a prospective Bijapur invasion of the South, to collect the promised contributions from the Nayaks. But it is not known what became of this intended invasion. *La Mission* III, page 203.

64. *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, p. 324. Dr. S. K. Aiyangar identifies Rēlātalli with Kīlānilai on the road between Arantangi and Tiruppattur. Even though there is nothing to show that the above fortifications were made in this period, yet the history of his reign shows that he must have been busy with this work only about this time.

II

(a) *The Fatal War with Madura.*

As was expected the storm broke out in A.D. 1673, when Chokkanatha ordered his troops to march upon Tanjore. Vijayarāghava put up a strong and gallant defence and died a glorious death on the field of battle. The immediate causes for this war are not clear. The chronicles say that Vijayarāghava's refusal to give his daughter in marriage to Chokkanatha and the bad treatment meted out to the Madura ambassadors, who brought the proposal for the marriage alliance were the immediate causes of this war.[1] Whether the marriage proposal was the real cause of this war is not known for certain and unfortunately Andre Freire's letter dated 1673, in which he claims to have written about this war, is not available to us. However, Mr. Nelson, in his *Madura Manual*, has accepted the account of the chronicles and finds fault with Vijayarāghava for rejecting the offer and consequently bringing about his own ruin. He says:—'one would naturally have supposed that the offer of marriage would have been gladly accepted, more especially as the two kings......were Nayakkans, descended probably from common ancestors.'[2] Dr. S. K. Aiyangar further gives credence to the account of the chronicles by referring to Raghunātha Nayaka's marriage with a Pāṇdyan Princess. He thus writes, 'there is also nothing improbable in Tirumala's having married the Tanjore princess, whether she was actually stabbed to death in the manner described or not. In view, therefore of these previous alliances it is extremely likely that Chokkanatha sought an alliance and the refusal to comply must both be considered solely from the point of view of political relationship between the two families.'[3] He further adds that the cause for Chokkanatha's proposed alliance was his desire to gain the support of Tanjore against his own enemy Mysore.[4] However, he concludes that the rejection of the proposal alone was not 'the sole cause of the war between the two.' Mr. Sathianatha Aiyar thinks that Chokkanatha's demand of the Tanjore

1. Taylor: *Oriental Historical Mss*, II, pp. 185 and 191-5; *Catalogue Raisonnée* III, p. 177. Also the *Tanjāvūri Añdhra Rājula Charitam*. Also *Sources*, p. 324.
2. *The Madura Manual*, p. 191.
3. *The Nayaks of Madura*, p. 164, Note 33.
4. If Chokkanatha was for real peace and a strong alliance, he need not have precipitated a war immediately on Tanjore. Moreover he had nothing to fear from Mysore by way of an invasion soon after the recent battle of Erode in 1670 which went against him.

princess was only an alleged reason for his intended war.[5] But he controverts Nelson's view that 'both were Nayakkans descended probably from common ancestors', by saying that this could not have been possible since the ancestor of the Tanjore Nayaks was connected by marriage with the ruling house of Vijayanagar, while those of Madura could not boast of such royal relationship. He adds in further support of his statement, that even though there had been marital alliances between the Nayak families of Tanjore and Madura, yet 'Vijayarāghava may have thought differently of the matter.'[6] Mr. K. Sitaramayya casts a doubt regarding the truth of this proposed marriage alliance. He says that mutual hatred and enmity between the two lines had been manifest from the year 1616 and so no marriage would have been possible in 1672 or in 1673 or even earlier,[7] in view of their hostilities. Secondly the higher status, due to their connection with the royal house, of the Tanjore Nayaks, is pressed into service to disprove the possibility of this proposal. He even says that Tirumala Nayaka's marriage with a Tanjore princess is not supported by any reliable testimony as there is no evidence as to its having been a fact found in the Tanjore literature; he adds that Raghunātha Nayaka, who was opposed to the Madura Nayaks in general and to Muthuvirappa Nayaka I in particular, would not have consented under any circumstances to give his daughter in marriage to Tirumala. Even granting that he had made this alliance and that Tirumala murdered his Tanjorean wife, he asks pertinently, whether Raghunātha, the most powerful of all the Tanjore rulers could have kept quiet without revenging himself on his brutal son-in-law for his daughter's death. There is no evidence even in the chronicles to show that Tanjore was at war with Tirumala. And he therefore concludes that Tirumala Nayaka's marriage with Achyuta Raghunāthamma of Tanjore as recorded in the *Tanjāvūri Āndhra Rājula Charitam* is not only improbable, but highly impossible. Moreover, none of the literary works of Tanjore mention the existence of a daughter of Raghunātha Nayaka and even the *Raghunāthābhyudayam* of Vijayarāghava, which contains a genealogy of the Tanjore Nayaks, does not speak of a sister of Vijayarāghava. The Jesuit evidence, which speaks of a son-in-law of Vijayarāghava in A.D. 1659, re-

5. *The Nayaks of Madura*, p. 163.

6. *The Nayaks of Madura*, p. 164. He seems to accept the statement of the *Raghunāthābhyudayam* that Raghunātha married a Pāndyan princess; but rejects the marriage of Tirumala with a Tanjore princess and his murdering her on the ground that this statement of the chronicles is not confirmed by any other evidence.

7. *The Tanjore Andhra Nayaka Charitam*, pp. 321-2.

mains silent on this matter.[8] The chronicles of Madura also make no reference either to this marriage proposal or to Tirumala Nayaka's marriage with Raghunātha Nayaka's daughter. Hence it is difficult to give any credence to this fanciful story that has gained so much currency; and so, the truth of Chokkanatha Nayaka's proposed alliance with Tanjore will have to be discountenanced, until it is supported by further evidence and even then, the refusal of Vijayarāghava could not have brought about an immediate crisis.[9] If the statement were to be supported by future evidence, then the observation of Mr. Sathianatha Aiyar that the Madura Nayak's demand of a Tanjore princess in marriage was made as a subterfuge will remain good. Until then, the question of a marriage alliance as a cause for this war, will not hold good. Hence, the necessity arises of making further enquiry on this question.

The immediate event that preceded this war was the reconquest of Vallam by Vijayarāghava about A.D. 1664.[10] Nieuhoff says that the Nayak of Tanjore attacked the Nayak of Madura and took from him in a few days all that he had lost. This conquest might have encouraged Vijayarāghava to entertain hopes of recovery and revival and he perhaps refused to pay the agreed tribute to Madura.[11] Mr. Sathianatha

8. *La Mission*, III, p. 51. If the reference is correct, then, it means that Vijayarāghava had at least a daughter who had been married already by 1659. But the internal evidence does not mention even a daughter of Vijayarāghava, not to speak of two, as mentioned in the Jesuit letters.

9. The view that Vijayarāghava's refusal to comply with the request of Chokkantha, was due to his nobility and high birth, does not seem to be quite secure. Of course, the Tanjore Nayak, Śevappa, was related to the imperial house of Vijayanagar by his marriage with a sister of one of Achyutarāya's courtesans. That Tirumalāmba herself was not Achyutarāya's queen is stated by her in her *Varadāmbikāparinayam*. But both Nāgama Nayaka, father of Visvanātha Nayaka and Timmappa Nayaka, the father of Śevappa, were brother officers under Krishnadēvarāya and both hailed from the Toṇdaimaṇdalam country. And Nāgama Nayaka became the Raya's favourite and that was the reason for his coming down to the South to settle the affairs of the Pāṇdya. Both of them were Nayaks and Achyutarāya showed his regard for Viswanātha Nayaka, by making a gift for his merit. Apart from this, there is nothing to show that the Tanjore Nayaks were of a higher caste status than the Nayaks of Madura. Both of them were obliged to pay tribute to Vijayanagar according to the Jesuit letters.

10. *The Nayaks of Madura*, p. 159.

11. Vijayarāghava's failure to pay the tribute and his breaking the treaty concluded with Madura are already referred to in the Jesuit letters in connection with Vijayarāghava's help given to 'Vanamian'. Chokkanatha Nayaka's terms, soon after his capture of Vallam would have also contained a reference to Tanjore's tribute.

Aiyar also says that 'it is likely that the loss of the latter's (Madura) conquest in Tanjore referred to by John Nieuhoff was the governing consideration.' And it is also held that Tanjore's part in the struggle of Chokkanatha waged against the Mysore ruler, Dēvaraja Udaiyar (1659-1672) at Erode and the disagreement between the two powers as a result of their defeat; formed the causes for this invasion by Madura. Dr. S. K. Aiyangar[12] says that Dāmarla Aiyapēndra or Aiyappa, a half-brother of Aṇka, the son of Cheṇṇa, and the founder of Chennapatnam exhibited his loyalty towards Sriranga III in a battle at Erode where a confederacy composed of Chokkanatha Nayaka of Madura, a general of the Tanjore Nayaka, Aiyappa and one of the officers of Bijapur, was formed to uphold the claims of the fugitive Emperor, Sriranga III. In this battle Aiyappa fell and the imperial allies were completely defeated. Mr. Sathianatha Aiyar says[13] that 'it is likely that disagreements rose between Chokkanatha and the ruler of Tanjore as a result of this defeat, which probably precipitated the former's war against the latter in 1673.' This view is untenable in the light of our knowledge of the then existing political relationships between these two houses; and Vijayarāghava's sending his general, to participate in the battle of Erode, in which Madura, his enemy, played a prominent part, will have to be supported by further evidence. And hence a clear analysis of all the sources and other statements can only support the view, that the reconquest of Vijayarāghava Nayaka of his lost territories and the old animosities between Madura and Tanjore, constituted the main causes for a war in A.D. 1673.

Chokkanatha despatched a large army under the command of his Dalavāy Veṇkatakrishnappa Nayaka with Pēishkār (Revenue Officer or treasurer) Chiṇṇatambi Mudaliar as next in authority. Chiṇṇa Kattiri Nayaka, the poligar of Kaṇṇivādi is also said to have accompanied them with his troops.[14] Vijayarāghava, on the receipt of the news of the

12. *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, Introduction, p. 21. Also the *Ushaparinayam* by Damarla Aṇka:—*Ibid.*, p. 308. The battle of Erode must have taken place in or about A.D. 1670 since the Mysore account says that Chikkadēva Udaiyar (*acc.* 1672), while yet a prince, offered to attack Madura, when negotiations failed. This is further confirmed by the statement that Dāmarla Aiyappa waged a war with him and the latter in his epigraphs dated A.D. 1679 and 1686 claims to have defeated Chokkanatha of Madura and to have taken Tripura (Trichinopoly), etc. See also 'Sriranga III of Vijayanagar' by Mr. R. Sathianatha Aiyar—*Prroceedings of the All-India Third Oriental Conference, Madras*, 1924. The reference to the part played by a general of Tanjore is also vague.

13. *The Nayaks of Madura*, p. 173.

14. *The Nayaks of Madura*, p. 165.

advance of Madura troops, is said to have despatched an army to meet them on their way and offer battle, before they could reach Vallam. Dalavāy Veṇkatakrishnappa Nayaka defeated the Tanjore army and captured the fort of Vallam and soon arrived near the outskirts of Tanjore. Vijayarāghava, learning of the defeat of his army near Vallam, soon collected a large force and came out to fight, along with his Senapati, Dalavāy Veṇkatādri Nayaka.[15] In the fierce battle that ensued, the Tanjore army sustained serious losses. It is said that the Madura Dalavāy proposed peace terms in vain to Vijayarāghava Nayaka, who ordered his men to march forward for battle, himself marching at their head. His son, Maṇṇārudās, who had been kept in confinement[16] was also released and he was left behind along with another person, called Akkirāju, to be in charge of the ladies of his family and to blow up, the Zenana quarters, if the fight should go against Tanjore. It is said that Vijayarāghava, despairing success, gave the fateful signal, by which the Zenana quarters in the palace were blown up and Maṇṇārudās after this, entered the thick of the battle. Shortly after this happening, both Vijayarāghava and his son rushed forward in the battle and fell. Veṇkatakrishnappa Nayaka proclaimed his victory and returned to Trichinopoly leaving a garrison behind at Tanjore.[17] This battle, which was fatally disastrous in its results to the Nayak's rule in Tanjore, also proved to be the last of the wars of Madura upon Tanjore. Vijayarāghava finding that he could not escape death, faced it with all courage and died gloriously. And Tanjore was annexed by Chokkanatha Nayaka, who put it in the charge of his foster-brother, Alagiri Nayaka, who was appointed Viceroy, according to the evidence of the Jesuit letters.[18]

15. The chronicles mention one Raṇgappa Nayaka as the Dalavāy of Tanjore. Also the *Tanjāvūri Añdhra Rājula Charitam*. But an inscription coming from Tirukkoshtiyur (309 of 1923) mentions one Dalavāy Veṇkatādri Nayaka. Mr. K. Sitaramayya also says that Veṇkatādri Nayaka was his general as he is mentioned in a *Kuravaṇji Nātakam* and also in the *Ushāparinayam*.

16. The reason for his imprisonment is not known. Tradition has a fanciful story to tell. It says that he advanced his love to one of the daughters of Gōvinda Dīkshita and when this was brought to the notice of the Nayaka by the minister himself, he ordered him to be put into prison. The *Dakshina India Charitam* by Narasimhalu Naidu, Vol. II.

17. An account of this battle is given in Taylor's Mss. II, pp. 191-203. Also the *Tanjāvūri Añdhra Rājula Charitam, Sources*. Mr. V. Rangacharya gives a detailed account of this war. *Indian Antiquary*, 1917, pp. 58-62.

18. *La Mission*, III, p. 247. The Tanjore chronicles also refer to his appointment.

The reign of Vijayarāghava thus came to an end in A.D. 1673 (the date of this disastrous battle).[19]

(b) *The Nayak's relations with the Europeans.*

Vijayarāghava Nayaka's relations with the Portuguese were generally friendly except for a short time. The latter continued to hold the port of Negapatam till the middle of A.D. 1658 when it passed into the hands of the Dutch. Speaking of the Portuguese trade on the Eastern Coast and the patronage shown by the Nayaks to them, Mr. Danvers says that in A.D. 1638 both the Nayaks of Gingee and Tanjore were on friendly terms with the Portuguese.[20] However, in the keen rivalry between the Portuguese and the Dutch on the question of Eastern trade the Dutch contrived to gain some advantage over their rivals by 1638. In 1636 the Portuguese Viceroy wrote to Lisbon that trade had generally fallen into the hands of the Dutch, who were making attempts to capture San Thome de Meliapore (Mylapore).[21] The Portuguese, on account of this competition, suffered serious losses not only on the coast but also in Ceylon, where their power was slowly declining, yielding place to the rise of the Dutch power. The Danes of Tranquebar were friendly towards the Portuguese; and about 1638 the President of the Danish East India Company, getting intelligence of a projected attack on the Portuguese in Gao and Ceylon by the Dutch, offered his help to them in their defence of Negapatam and Tranquebar, if they were to allow him to establish a factory in Ceylon. When this request was turned down by the Portuguese authorities, the President made another request with a repetition of his offer of help, and this time the request was to allow the Danes to purchase cinnamon, elephants and arecanuts from Ceylon. Nothing came out of this and the Portuguese lost their fort at Batticalova in Ceylon to the Dutch in 1638. The latter were good enough to permit the Portuguese inhabitants to set sail for Negapatam. The Dutch continued to harrass the Portuguese and attacked Goa in 1639 and Malacca in 1641. About this time the Portuguese seemed to have suffered

19. Unfortunately Andre Freire's letter dated A.D. 1673, in which, he says he had given an account of this war is lost to us. Since his subsequent letter dated 1676 begins with a reference to this war and the occupation of Tanjore by Alagiri, the battle must have come to a close by the end of 1673. Lespinay has two dates as he once records the events under July 1672 and elsewhere places them in 1673.

20. *The Portuguese in India,* Vol. II, p. 252.

21. *Ibid.,* Vol. II, p. 257.

from an attack made by Vijayarāghava of Tanjore.[22] The causes for this attack are not known, but it is known that nothing serious had happened as the Records say that the Nayak of Tanjore soon concluded peace with them. However, they began to decline and Conte de Avieras, writing home in December 1643, informed the king of Portugal that all the rulers of South India were against the Portuguese. In 1658, the Dutch under Major Van der Lean captured the settlement of Negapatam without a shot being fired and the Portuguese surrendered completely. According to the terms of surrender, the Portuguese were to be at liberty to leave the town and take with them all their possessions and goods, as well as their church ornaments, and the Dutch should provide them with the means of conveyance in the transportation of goods.[23]

From A.D. 1658 onwards Negapatam was held by the Dutch. From the Dutch Records,[24] it appears that Vijayarāghava was at first not favourably disposed towards them and even did not recognise their hold of the town; but subsequently he had to acquiesce in their possession when an army sent by him to oppose them was defeated.[25] At the instance of Chiṉṉaṇa Chetty, *alias* Mallayya, of whom we have read above, Vijayarāghava gave the Dutch a charter offering them valuable trade concessions on 15th September 1658.[26] The deed given by Vijayarāghava begins with a reference to Ciṉṉaṇa Chetty, who submitted to him that the Dutch were desirous of carrying on trade operations in the port of Negapatam and says that the Nayak gave the fort, the houses and the yards that were in possession of the Portuguese along with ten

22. That Vijayarāghava besieged the town of Negapatam about 1642 is mentioned in a letter dated January 4, 1643, which says that at Negapatam 'the Portuguese have been put to a great strait, for the Naik of Tanjore hath besieged them now upwards of seven months' Foster: *The English Factories in India,* 1640-45, p. 81. Danvers says that Pedro Boreel, a Dutch Commissioner arrived at Tranquebar and endeavoured to persuade the Naik of Tanjore to continue the war with the Portuguese and to besiege Negapatam, offering him to bring another force to aid him in his capture of the town. The Naik, however, refused to act on this and soon made peace with the Portuguese. Vol. II, p. 284.

23. *The Portuguese in India,* Vol. II, p. 324.

24. The two grants from Batavia by Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri. *The Indian Historical Records Commission,* Vol. XIV, p. 39.

25. *The Cambridge History of India,* Vol. V, p. 127.

26. The first grant is dated 15th Mārgaḷi of the Cyclic year Vilambi, corresponding to 15th September 1658. The deed is called a Nammikka Śāsanam (deed of Trust).

villages to the Dutch who were asked to pay to the state an annual tribute as tax thereon. The same charter was renewed for a second time on June 5, 1662 by Vijayarāghava, who now gave them the additional privilege of setting up their own mint for the coinage of gold, silver and copper, the profits of which were to be shared between the Company and the Nayak.[27] About 1666 the Dutch got from Vijayarāghava Nayaka the port of Trimelipatam (Tirumalairājanpatnam in the Nannilam Taluk of the Tanjore District) and some other places in its neighbourhood on lease, for a period of three years 'for a sum of 2,800 parados, on condition that the Company were neither to fortify the places nor to disembark any merchandise or cloth in these places.' The Company wanted the lease in order to be able to regulate their dealings with the local dyers and also to be free from the molestation of the Nayak's officers. The issue of these charters shows that Negapatam had definitely passed on from the Portuguese into the hands of the Dutch and that Vijayarāghava, who was opposed to the latter at the beginning, had to reconcile himself with them. The grant of additional villages on lease shows further, that Vijayarāghava became more friendly towards them as years passed on.

The Danes at Tranquebar continued to enjoy their privileges unmolested and free from the Nayak's intervention. However, they do not seem to have fared well at all, for want of regular supply of money and ships from home. President Muschamp wrote to London on October 28, 1629[28] that the Danes for want of stock and shipping have finished their trade and by report, their general had gone to surrender their castle to the Dutch for 15,000 rials, but it is supposed that the Naik will not suffer them to enjoy it peacefully, unless upon a new composition which will cost them dear. A Dutch letter from Masulipatam dated September 24, 1628, speaks of the possibilities of the Dutch obtaining Tranquebar should the Danes decide to leave, adding that in the event of their refusing it, "Malaya, (Malliah) the Cōmati, would take it as he had a great trade on the Coast and was afraid of being plucked by one or another of the Naiks." In December 15, A.D. 1629, the Dutch Governor-General at Batavia reported to the Company that Roelant Crape, the Danish Admiral of Tranquebar, had proposed that the Dutch should buy the port of Tranquebar for 12,000 or 15,000 rials of eight and that they had refused it. Another letter dated December 2, 1629 contains a reference

(*To be Continued*)

27. *Tijdschrift*, Batavia, Deel LXXIX, A flevering I, p. 7.
28. Foster : *The English Factories in India*, 1623 to 1629, p. 347.

Finances of the Madras Province 1920-40

By

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According to the devolution rules framed under the Government of India Act of 1919, from the 1st of April 1921 the Madras Government made an annual contribution of Rs. 345 lakhs to the Central Revenues. This it continued to do upto 1925 when the contribution was reduced to Rs. 221·98 lakhs. Next year, 1926-27, it fell to Rs. 165·19 lakhs and was wholly abolished in 1927-28.

Simultaneously with the reduction and final abolition of the contribution to the Central Revenues there was a steady and gradual improvement in the receipts from the revenue assigned to the Madras Government. This improvement reached its apex in 1929-30; from which year it began to decline as a result of the world economic depression. With the expansion of revenue expenditure also increased; but owing to the fall in revenue from 1930-31 expenditure had to be drastically cut down.

Year.	Revenue.	Expenditure on revenue account.	Surplus (+) or Deficit (—) [Column (2)—Column (3)]
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
1920-21	16,19·71	14,79·60	+1,40·11
1921-22	15,79·20	16,77·92	— 98·72
1922-23	16,06·22	16,09·24	— 3·02
1923-24	16,47·85	16,11·54	+ 36·31
1924-25	16,27·59	16,57·06	— 29·47
1925-26	16,93·60	15,95·23	+ 98·37
1926-27	16,83·69	15,82·21	+1,01·48
1927-28	17,05·37	15,03·64	+2,01·73
1928-29	17,53·10	16,13·96	+1,39·14
1929-30	18,08·88	16,84·79	+1,24·09

Year.	Revenue.	Expenditure on revenue account.	Surplus (+) or Deficit (—) [Column (2)— Column (3)]
1930-31	16,83·93	17,89·68	—1,05·75
1931-32	16,29·88	16,24·47	+ 5·41
1932-33	16,40·24	15,63·03	+ 77·21
1933-34	15,50·28	15,44·03	+ 6·25
1934-35	15,62·60	15,51·67	+ 10·93
1935-36	15,88·25	15,83·40	+ 4·85
1935-36 (Madras only)	15,57·66	15,31·03	+ 26·63
1936-37	15,58·04	15,77·37	— 19·33

The above figures show that there were surpluses in eleven years and deficits in five years. While the surpluses in the early years were due to retrenchment, the surpluses in the later years were due to remissions of the provincial contributions. The surplus of 1931-32 was due to an unexpected increase in the yield from the excise and stamp revenues. The deficit in 1921-22 was mainly due to the Non-co-operation movement, the Moplah Rebellion, the famine in the Ceded Districts, the general trade depression and the increase in salaries. The total nett surplus for the sixteen years was 549·48 lakhs. Out of these, 3 crores were utilized for paying off loans from the Central Government and the remainder for capital expenditure mostly productive.

The table (in the next page) shows that land revenue receipts were very high in 1925-26 and 1931-32. Revenue from excise fluctuated during the period. It was at its lowest point in 1921-22 and touched the highest in 1929-30. Since then it has declined substantially. The fall in 1921-22 was undoubtedly due to the Non-co-operation movement while the subsequent decline is probably due to economic depression and the increase of illicit practices. The increase in the stamp revenue was due to the amendment of the Court Fees and Stamps Act and the enhancement of the price of the copy stamp paper. . At the same time it must be remembered that stamp revenue has shown a tendency to decline due to economic depression and the measures taken to mitigate agricultural indebtedness by the grant of government loans and also because of the establishment of Land Mortgage Banks and Debt Conciliation Boards. Forest revenue reached the peak point in 1929-30 and ever since has been fluctuating. Since 1928-29 there has been a fall in registration revenue.

The following table gives the figures of revenue under the various heads of account :—

Year.	Land Revenue.	Excise.	Stamps.	Forest.	Registration.	Other Heads.	Total.
1920-21	6,87·04	5,45·80	1,78·10	48·68	30·61	96·86	15,87·09
1921-22	7,24·45	4,97·37	1,89·85	44·80	32·56	99·72	15,88·75
1922-23	7,28·35	5,01·31	2,19·84	47·89	35·98	1,00·67	16,34·04
1923-24	7,12·78	5,32·10	2,34·05	48·98	36·86	1,12·52	16,77·29
1924-25	7,40·20	5,02·99	2,41·51	51·19	37·90	1,03·46	16,77·25
1925-26	7,70·70	4,94·35	2,45·08	51·29	38·60	1,14·92	17,14·94
1926-27	7,54·32	5,10·14	2,52·30	54·98	40·53	1,16·81	17,29·08
1927-28	754·35	5,34·37	2,50·11	53·44	39·06	1,25·63	17,56·96
1928-29	7,50·31	5,58·75	2,51·17	61·54	34·12	1,41·30	17,97·19
1929-30	7,50·41	5,92·25	250·92	63·54	34·48	1,55·46	18,47·06
1930-31	7,16·59	5,28·37	2,34·71	51·16	30·37	1,51·85	17,13·05
1931-32	7,69·38	4,28·99	2,34·93	45·29	29·79	1,22·52	16,30·90
1932-33	7,46·84	4,31·69	2,41·58	49·68	32·47	1,21·23	16,23·49
1933-34	6,92·54	4,29·59	2,28·11	41·55	30·28	1,27·15	15,49·22
1934-35	7,16·51	4,24·55	2,17·11	44·31	31·06	1,32·27	15,65·81
1935-36	7,42·39	4,11·93	2,08·18	44·95	30·30	1,37·34	15,75·09
1935-36 (Madras only)	7,30·52	4,00·36	2,04·45	43·53	29·79	1,35·00	15,43·65
1936-37	7,15·44	4,00·79	1,95·08	48·27	29·95	1,55·04	15,44·57

Turning to expenditure the following table gives the figures for expenditure during the period under review.

Year.	Total.	Transferred departments and Development Services included in Reserved.	Charges common to Reserved and Transferred departments.	Reserved departments. (Security Services and other minor departments.)
1920-21	11,75·85	5,09·60	92·78	5,73·47
1921-22	13,11·54	5,86·86	93·42	6,31·26
1922-23	12,98·83	5,62·32	1,09·36	6,27·15
1923-24	13,21·66	5,76·64	1,20·85	6,24·17
1924-25	13,56·95	6,07·84	1,32·16	6,16·95
1925-26	14,22·97	6,63·33	1,49·19	6,10·45
1926-27	14,85·21	7,05·77	1,75·65	6,03·79
1927-28	15,82·57	7,75·82	1,88·28	6,18·47
1928-29	16,59·58	8,50·26	1,93·93	6,15·39
1929-30	17,26·42	9,08·12	1,87·96	6,30·34
1930-31	18,15·07	9,88·07	1,82·48	6,44·52
1931-32	16,26·58	8,34·78	1,83·61	6,08·19
1932-33	15,22·50	7,56·12	1,89·79	5,76·59
1933-34	15,48·97	7,70·60	1,95·58	5,82·70
1934-35	15,54·34	767·74	1,94·07	5,92·53
1935-36	15,85·81	7,89·64	2,00·80	5,95·37
1935-36 (Madras only)	15,32·59	7,61·42	1,97·91	5,73·26
1936-37	15,77·09	7,97·57	2,00·10	5,79·42

In 1930-31 the total expenditure was 18,15·07 lakhs of rupees. The expenditure on transferred departments and development services had increased that year by 94% as compared to 1920-21 and that on security services and minor departments by 12%.

According to the Government of India Act of 1919 the Provincial Governments were empowered to raise loans on the security of the revenues allotted to them. On the 1st April 1921 the Government of India debited to the Madras Government 8,75·26 lakhs of rupees. This represented the capital expenses incurred by the Government of India upto 1921 for constructing protective and productive irrigation works in the Madras Presidency. The Government of India were only en-

titled to interest at a fixed rate on this amount but at the same time the option of amortizing the debt was given to Madras. In 1936 the Madras Government debited Rs. 47·07 lakhs to the Orissa Government. In 1937 the outstanding debt of the Madras Government to the Central Government was 8,28·19 lakhs. The annual interest on this amount was 28·12 lakhs. In addition to this debt the Government of India had debited to the Madras Government a sum of Rs. 108·86 lakhs. This represented loans which the Government of India had advanced to local authorities and cultivators. The Madras Government repaid this debt to the Central Government in twelve annual instalments; and it was finally cleared off in 1932-33.

According to part III of the Government of India Act, 1935, the scheme for the decentralization of balances came into effect on 1st April 1937. Along with this there was a consolidation of the debt owed by the Madras Government to the Central Government. At the same time the Government of India held 771·75 lakhs of deposits of various kinds which they had to repay to certain provincial bodies in Madras. The Madras Government took up this liability in return for adjustment by way of reduction of its pre—1921 debt to the Central Government. By this method the pre—1921 debt got reduced to 56·44 lakhs. After this adjustment the total amount owed by the Madras Government to the Central Government was 756·71 lakhs which included the 56·44 lakhs of the pre—1921 debts. All this amount was consolidated into a single debt and the average rate of interest on this debt worked out at 4·71%. This debt was to be paid off within a period of 45 years commencing from 1937-38 and ending in 1981-82 with interest at the rate of 4·5%. The option of redeeming the debt earlier was given to the Madras Government: an amount not exceeding one half of the principal could be returned between 1st April 1945 and 15th October 1946 and the whole or any part of the remainder of the debt between 1st April 1960 and 16th October 1961. The net result of the consolidation was that the debt charges which stood at Rs. 87·67 lakhs under the old arrangement became reduced to Rs. 53·37 lakhs in 1937-38. At the same time the Provincial Government lost interest on about Rs. 55 lakhs on account of furnishing the minimum balance with the Reserve Bank, cash in treasuries and sub-treasuries and of financing all the floating debts. Another fact that has to be mentioned here is that the Madras Government has saved every year roughly 22 lakhs by the Separation of Orissa. On the whole Madras Finance was in a sound position at the advent of Provincial Autonomy. Compared with the opening balance on 1st April 1921 of 58·78 lakhs, on 31st March 1937 there was a revenue closing balance of 61·86 lakhs. Besides this the Madras Government had on

the same date a closing balance of 63·89 lakhs composed of depreciation funds of commercial undertakings, deposits etc. Thus on the 31st March 1937 the total balance to the credit of the Madras Government was 125·75 lakhs apart from the securities held in the Madras Famine Relief Fund.[1]

With the advent of Provincial Autonomy in 1937 the functions of the Provincial Government were widened and the New Provincial Governments were eager to strengthen the social services even if that involved deficit budgets and the floatation of new loans. At the same time there was retrenchment in the more costly services and expansion in other directions. The new policy was to some extent handicapped by the lack of control of the Provincial Government over certain items of expenditure and by the lack of scope for further taxation in certain directions. Since further income from taxation was difficult to obtain expenditure had necessarily to be limited.

Even before Provincial Autonomy expenditure in Madras had been fairly well directed, there was an increase of 27% in the Madras expenditure on social services when compared to the period before dyarchy. This cannot be said of any of the other major provinces. Consequently the increase during the period of provincial autonomy in Madras was low as compared with other provinces. Whereas absence of such increase in the dyarchic period has resulted in showing a much higher percentage of increase during the period of provincial autonomy in other provinces. The following table shows the expenditure in Madras from 1937-38 to 1939-40.

Year	Primary functions of Government	Development Services	Charges Common	Total
1937—1938 ..	6,60·26	7,90·80	1,31·90	15,82·96
1938—1939 ..	6,51·92	8,33·65	1,35·19	16,20·76
1939—1940 ..	6,60·63	8,46·34	1,33·75	16,40·72

Expenditure on the primary functions of government increased at the introduction of provincial autonomy. This is due to frequent meetings of the legislature, long sittings costing increased secretarial staff,

1. All the figures and tables have been taken from Budget Memorandum 1939-40, Government of Madras, Finance Department.

and other constitutional changes including the bi-cameral system. The introduction of prohibition also involved additional expenditure. On the other hand reorganization of departments and retrenchment of unnecessary posts and the stoppage of the hill exodus effected some savings. The net result was that expenditure on security services showed a slight fall.

Turning to development services we shall take up a few items for scrutiny. The following table shows the expenditure on education:—

1937—38	..	..	257·95	(Accounts)
1938—39	..	..	261·57	(Budget Estimate)
1938—39	..	..	262·51	(Revised Estimate)
1939—40	..	..	264·57	(Budget Estimate)

Though the figures show a rise as compared with previous years compulsory primary education, though realised to be highly necessary, could not be introduced since it involved an expense of 6½ to 7½ crores. Expenditure on medical relief also shows a marked increase. Special attention was devoted to water-supply. Efforts were made to combat epidemic diseases and to distribute quinine and initiate anti-malarial measures. A sum of Rs. 1½ lakhs was set apart annually for this purpose. Between 1937-40 during a period of three years a sum of 18 lakhs of rupees has been spent on rural water-supply. In this matter Madras is second only to Bombay which has spent 28·25 lakhs. It is clear, therefore, that public health received special attention during the period of provincial autonomy.

Section 45A (Rule 29 of the Devolution Rules and Schedule IV) of the Government of India Act 1919 which came into force on 1st April 1921 provided for the establishment and maintenance of a famine relief fund in Madras. The provincial revenue set apart for this purpose was 6·61 lakhs annually; this amount was reduced in 1928-29 to 3 lakhs. This sum was to be utilized for famine relief during the year; if there was an unspent balance it was to be added to the Famine Relief Fund. When, however, the Famine Relief Fund reached a maximum of 40 lakhs the provision of an annual amount for expenditure on famine relief was optional. This fund was regarded as invested with the Governor-General in Council who paid interest. On the 1st April 1935 this fund reached the highest point viz., 61·53 lakhs and on 31st March 1936 it was 41·48 lakhs. The Government of India Act 1935 did not provide for the continuance of the Famine Relief Fund; but the Madras Government passed the Madras Famine Relief Fund Act of 1936 by which it continued to maintain a famine relief fund with the balance to its credit with the Central Government on this head, as its nucleus.

During the period 1936-37 to 1939-40 there has been an increase in the revenue receipts of Madras. The following Table shows the revenue distributed over the important heads:—

Year.	1937-38	1938-39 (Revised estimate)	1939-40 (Budget)
Taxes on income other than Corporation tax	18·75	22·95	24·15
Land Revenue and irrigation minus working expenses	6,80·66	6,87·90	7,04·70
Excise	4,03·07	3,68·34	3,55·04
Stamps	1,92·69	1,66·78	1,67·24
Forests	50·46	45·28	44·66
Registration	33·29	31·68	31·74
Motor Vehicles	53·95	80·60	82·91
Other Taxes and Duties	2·87	2·36	18·34
Electric Schemes minus working expenses	17·53	19·67	30·80
Other Heads	1,47·35	1,97·63	1,63·87
Total	16,00·62	16,23·19	16,23·45

There has been an increase in land revenue during the period; and this is in large measure due to favourable seasons and the collection of previous arrears. In the matter of excise which accounted for 25% of the total receipts there has been a decrease in the yield owing to the introduction of prohibition. It must at the same time be added that though there were no collections from the dry areas, the wet areas registered an increase in revenue. The receipt under stamps also showed a decline since measures for debt relief led to a fall in litigation. In 1938-39 grazing fees were reduced by 50% and there has been a consequent shrinkage in forest revenue.

At the same time new sources of revenue were tapped. First among them, in point of time, was the entertainment tax. This tax had already been introduced in Bengal as early as 1922 and therefore it was not new to the country. It had also been adopted in Bombay, Sind, Punjab, U.P. and C.P. before it came to Madras. For a long time it was a source of revenue for local bodies. In 1939 it was made a pro-

vincial item and the local bodies were compensated. Duties on electricity and motor spirit were also attempted. A tax on tobacco was also levied. This tax had also been in existence in other provinces before Madras adopted it. Another measure of taxation was the Sale of Cloth Act 1937. The latest measure introducing new taxation is the Madras General Sales Tax Act of 1939.

Coming to the loan policy of the Madras Government during the period of provincial autonomy one notes that the public debt of the province has increased. This has been the case in all provinces except Bombay and Sind. The debts of the Madras Government rose from 11·05 crores to 16·17 crores of rupees during the period.

A review of the revenue and expenditure of Madras during the past two decades shows that both the income and the expenditure of the Madras Government have increased during the period; but the increase in income has not kept pace with the increase in expenditure. The sources of revenue which have been assigned to the provinces by the Government of India Act 1935 are inelastic; while the functions assigned to the Provincial Government demand much greater expenditure. To remedy this state of things it would be necessary for the Central Government to accelerate the remissions under Income Tax till at last that tax becomes entirely a provincial source of revenue. The income from forests can be substantially increased by a more scientific forest policy. Further retrenchment in expenditure is scarcely possible. The possibility of the state running public utility concerns has to be explored. This province may attempt a monopoly of tobacco.

That there should be a substantial increase in expenditure on productive and nation building undertakings cannot be doubted. Since increased taxes must be based only on increased taxable capacity of the people planned and concerted measures must be taken to improve the income of the people. Haphazard methods will never lead to any substantial improvement and hence a definite plan with a time-limit should be put into force. Money is needed for all this. And one method of securing further income is the introduction of new taxes. These taxes would involve a redistribution of the incidence of taxation.

The first step in this direction would be a scientific study of the working of existing taxes and the scope for new taxation. Taxes on succession would be a productive source of revenue. The present system of land revenue needs careful investigation and the possibility of tapping larger revenues from land has to be carefully considered. Speci-

fic taxes on trades and professions may also be attempted. Taxes on luxuries and advertisements as sources of revenue for local bodies may also be examined. Transit and octroi duties which have been suggested by some people should be avoided since that would involve further restraint on the free flow of goods within the country.

A popular Government can never content itself with a policy of maintaining law and order. The motto of conservative financiers of taxing low and spending low must be discarded and within the bounds of solvent finance a bold and forward policy in regard to taxation, loans and expenditure has to be followed. This well-planned and co-ordinated policy must have as its aim the maximising of the agricultural and industrial production of the country and the improvement of the conditions in which the millions of the country live and labour from day to day. No higher task can await the future provincial finance ministers than the initiation and adoption of a sound and well conceived economic policy which is calculated to banish from our country, poverty, ignorance and disease. In the field of finance, as in other spheres of human activity, extreme conservatism may be only another name for stagnation; and a policy which appears risky and dangerous may prove in the long run to be the safest and most beneficial.

Bharati and Keats

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If the following lines of Keats :—

> And they shall be accounted poet–kings
> Who simply tell the most heart—easing things

are true, Poet Subramaniya Bharati, who flourished in the first quarter of this century, must be regarded a poet-king. John Keats thought that it was easier to think what poetry should be than to write it. But modern writers such as Mr. Housman would tell us that it is far easier to say such and such lines are poetry than to define poetry. Just as a terrier is able to scent a mouse without being able to define it, one can enjoy poetry without being able to say what poetry is. If, to be accounted a poet-king one need simply "tell the most heart-easing things," Bharati was certainly a poet-king. For sheer simplicity of expression of high and noble thoughts he has a few compeers in Tamil literature. In almost every part of the Tamil country, where nationalism is prevalent there are hosts of people on whose minds in particular he has a strong hold. They have an immense love for his poems and an irresistible desire to read or sing them aloud. He has produced combinations which would give him a high rank among the Tamil poets of modern times because of their appeal to the ear. Verses taken at random would illustrate this statement.

Among things that brought him to prominent notice must be mentioned his ardent love of the country in which he was born and for which he was prepared to offer sacrifices and undergo suffering. To him the Tamil country was sweeter than nectar :—

> Amiḻtil iṉiyataḍi pāppā—nam
> Āṉṟōrkaḷ dēsamaḍi pāppā.

As soon as he heard the word 'Tamiḻnāḍu' sweet honey poured into his ears and as soon as the word 'Fatherland' was uttered there came through the breath a marvellous spirit. This idea is contained in the following lines :—

Sen Tamiḻ nāḍeṉum pōti ṉilē—iṉpat
Tēṉvantu pāyutu kātiṉilē—eṅkaḷ
Tantaiyar nāḍeṉṟa pēcciṉilē—oru
Sakti piṟakkutu mūcciṉilē—

To him Bhārata-dēsam or India appeared to be the best country in the world. Witness for instance the following lines:—

Pārukkuḷḷē nalla nāḍu—eṅkaḷ
Bhārata nāḍu.

He has sung in many places to the praise of the country where his father and mother and their fore-fathers had lived and played, where several women with golden bodies had played and played in broad moon-light or in the river, and where several women, giving birth to their golden children, had nursed and fondled them. What a contrast to Keats who, though he said,

"Happy is England! I could be content
To see no other verdure than its own;
To feel no other breezes than are blown"

was anxious to see other climes and especially other beauties! Keats, though he said,

"Happy is England, sweet her artless daughters;
Enough their simple loveliness for me"

was burning to see "beauties of deeper glance, to hear their singing, and to float with them about the summer waters." To Bharati the ladies of Tamiḻnāḍ appeared to be quite angelic. Not that Bharati did not want to see ladies of other climes but that to him angels, certain celestial beings and certain goddesses appeared as though they were women of Tamiḻnāḍ.

Bharati's poems abound in repetition of a word or phrase. Human nature requires that a thing should be said twice or thrice if it is to be believed. At any rate, that is the view of Mr. E. A. C. Lamborn. That ought to explain why Milton, in his cruel deprivation, cried:—

Oh dark, dark, dark amid the blaze of noon
Irrecoverably dark, total eclipse
Without all hope of day.

Bharati was highly enamoured of the worship of Sakti, the Goddess of Energy who, according to him, stands supreme to the Hindu Triad. In

order to emphasise to the world the worship of her he has repeated the expression Sakti ever so many times. For instance, under the title '*Sakti Tiruppuhal̠*' he has said:—

Sakti Sakti Sakti Sakti Sakti Sakti en̠r̠ōtu
Sakti Sakti Sakti en̠pār—sākār en̠r̠ē nin̠r̠ōtu

and again

Sakti Sakti Sakti Sakti Sakti Sakti vāl̠ī nī.
Sakti Sakti Sakti Sakti Sakti Sakti vāl̠ī nī.

In another place he has said again

Ōm Sakti ōm Sakti ōm Sakti ōm Sakti
Ōm Sakti en̠r̠u urai ceytiḍuvōm.

It appears as though Sakti would be conjured by means of uttering the expression time and again. Otherwise his 46 verses going under the title '*Dedication of the Soul to the Sakti,*' would cease to have great value. The burden of the song is "Sakti tan̠akkē aḍimai ākku, Sakti tan̠akkē aḍimai ākku." With these exquisite examples of his melody one can compare Keats'

Shed no tear! Oh, Shed no tear
The flower will bloom another year.
Weep no more! Oh weep no more

* * * *

Dry your eyes, oh dry your eyes!

* * * *

Shed no tear! Oh, shed no tear

* * * *

Adieu, adieu—I fly, adieu,

* * * *

Adieu, adieu.

Again, with the melodious and creative beauty in the fore-going verses of Bharati one can compare Keats' song

"Spirit here that reignest!
Spirit here that painest!
Spirit here that burnest!
Spirit here that mournest!
Spirit! I bow

*　　*　　*　　*

Spirit I look * * *

*　　*　　*　　*

Spirit here that laughest !
Spirit here that quaffest !
Spirit here that dancest !
Noble soul that prancest !
Spirit ! With thee
I join in the glee."

Keats is reported to have said in his youth

"Give me women, wine and snuff
Until I cry out 'hold, enough'

*　　*　　*　　*

They aye shall be
My beloved Trinity."

Whether this is true or not, that he said "the poet enjoys light and shade and lives in gusto" in a letter to Woodhouse is beyond doubt. The latter statement applies to Bharati in a remarkable manner, for he wished to enjoy moon-light and the shade of the cocoa-nut palms and to live in great gusto as is evident from his three verses entiled *'Kāṇi Nilam.'* There he has said that he required a storeyed palace with a well, cocoa-nut trees numbering 10 or 12, tender cocoa-nuts, milk-white moon-light, and the sweet notes of a cuckoo. There he would require Goddess Sakti to guard the place while he, with an artless, chaste girl, would sing and dance. The verses under this title would bring to one's mind the following lines of Keats in *'Sleep and Poetry'*:—

First the realm I'll pass
Of Flora, and old Pan: sleep in the grass,
Feed upon apples red, and strawberries,
And choose each pleasure that my fancy sees;
Catch the white-handed nymphs in shady places,
To woo sweet kisses from averted faces,—
Play with their fingers, touch their shoulders white

*　　*　　*　　*

*　　*　　*　　*

Another will entice me on, and on
Through almond blossoms and rich cinnamon;
Till in the bosom of a leafy world

We rest in silence, like two gems upcurl'd
In the recesses of a pearly shell.

Three ruling passions of Bharati's life appear to have been poesy, fame and beauty. In this way he was like Keats who thought that verse, fame and beauty were intense and unlike Keats who thought at the same time that death was intenser and that death was life's high meed. The nine verses going under the title '*Mūṉṟu Kātal*' would indicate that Bharati strove for poesy, fame and beauty. Stripped of the allegory this poem would represent that he was anxious to obtain the grace of Sarasvathi the Goddess of Learning, of Lakshmi the Goddess of Wealth and of Kāḻi the beautiful Mother-God. This poem shows that he enjoyed the grace in ample measure of the first two Goddesses; but that they occasionally eluded his grasp has also been made plain. He did not, however, say as Keats did

"O folly! What is Love! and where is it?
And for that poor Ambition—It springs
From a man's little heart's short fever-fit;
For Poesy!—no—she has not a joy—
At least for me—.

Though Keats had a great passion for fame as is evident from a line in his Sonnet "Verse, fame and beauty are intense indeed," he scorned those people who strove for fame. Witness for instance the following lines on '*Fame*':—

Fame, like a wayward girl, will still be coy
To those who woo her with too slavish knees,
But makes surrender to some thoughtless boy,
And dotes the more upon a heart at ease;
She is a Gipsey, will not speak to those
Who have not learnt to be content without her;

* * * *

Ye love-sick Bards! repay her scorn for scorn;
Ye Artists lovelorn! madmen that ye are!
Make your best bow to her and bid adieu,
Then, if she likes it, she will follow you.

But Bharati never scorned fame nor scorned those that were trying to obtain fame. In several places we find him courting fame. For instance, under the caption 'Vēṇḍum' he has said

"Dharaṇiyilē perumai vēṇḍum"

In the sixth verse under the title *'Vaiyam Mul̲utum'* he has prayed for a long life of 100 years with fame. That he sought also beauty is evident from the following words "Nittam navam en̲ac cuḍar tarum uyir kēṭṭēn̲" contained in stanza 2 of his desidereta. That he had a craving for poesy is far more easily understood, for he has repeated that idea in many places. For instance, under the title *'Yōgha Siddhi—varam Kēttal'*—the follownig lines occur:—

Pala paṇṇir̲ kōḍi vahaiyin̲pam—nān̲
pāḍat tiran̲ aḍaital vēṇḍum.

Under the title *'Kāṇinilam'* the following lines

En̲ran̲ pāṭṭut tir̲attālē ivvaiyattaip
Pālittiḍa vēṇum

and under the title *'Ōm Sakti'* the following lines

Eḷḷattan̲ai pol̲utum payan̲in̲ri irātu en̲ran̲ nāvin̲ilē
Veḷḷamen̲ap pol̲ivāy

have occurred. There is no doubt therefore that fame, beauty and poesy were some of the ruling passions of Bharati's life.

He yearned for wealth, joy and long life besides. He has given utterance to this idea in several places. For instance, in a poem entitled *'Vēṇḍum'* he has said "Dhan̲amum in̲pamum vēṇḍum." In another poem, namely, *'Yōgha Siddhi'* he has eagerly sought great wealth to be used as capital for certain enterprises :—

Tol̲il paṇṇap perunitiyam vēṇḍum.

If in the *'Ode on Indolence'* Keats has decried love, ambition and poesy we are not to infer therefrom that never were they the ruling passions in his life. On the other hand, it would be well if we said that these things which had great attraction for him at a certain period of his life ceased to interest him at a further stage when probably he lay on his sick-bed. It is in this manner that the lines in the Sonnet

"Verse, fame and beauty are intense indeed,
But Death intenser—Death is life's meed"

are to be interpreted. This records, as in the opinion of Mr. J. M. Murry, "a grim and victorious struggle to detach himself from those passions"; "they dissolved away from him in a triumphant acceptance of Death." Similarly, Bharati, who had an inordinate desire for joy and happiness, found one day that these joys and happiness were probably

something ephemeral, if not illusory. That is why in his condemnation of Māya he has said "Ō māya! Shall I take as true the happiness you give" (Verse 6.), and again "Ō māya! What shall you do with those that know that this body is after all nothing" (Verse 4.).

Even though Keats said in one place

"Ever let the Fancy roam,
Pleasure never is at home:
At a touch sweet pleasure melteth,
Like to bubbles when rain pelteth;
Then let winged Fancy wander
Through the thoughts still spread beyond her,"

he said at another

"Welcome joy, and welcome sorrow

* * * *

I do love you both together

* * * *

Fair and foul I love together."

But Bharati was always and invariably longing for joy and happiness. This is evident from his repeated requests to the Goddess of Energy that his lot must be joy alone and never grief, happiness alone never sorrow. For instance, in *'Pōṟṟi Agaval'* he has stated

"Iṉpam kēṭṭēn īvāy pōṟṟi
Tuṉpam vēṇḍēṉ tuḍaippāy pōṟṟi."

Further, the sixth verse relating to *'Dēsa Muttu Māri'* runs as follows:—

Tuṉpamē iyaṟkai eṉum collai maṟantiḍuvōm
Iṉpamē vēṇḍi niṟpōm yāvum avaḷ taruvāḷ.

Whereas Keats thought that Death was life's high meed and said

I know this Being's lease,
My fancy to its utmost blisses spreads;
Yet would I on this very midnight cease,

Bharati has given expression in many places to his desire to survive and last long. One of the reasons why he asked people to worship Sakti was that they might thereby conquer Death. He himself was a staunch be-

liever in an ever lasting and imperishable life. At one place he has said that by the worship of Sakti people could live with fame for 100 years. In another (in St. 7 of '*Shiva Sakti Pugal̲*') he has stated that if there were the grace of Sakti people could live eternally. In yet another place ('*Mahā Sakti Veṇpā*' St. 4.) he has shown that he believed that the Goddess has made us all in order that we might live 100 years. He has clearly expressed himself in '*Pōr̲r̲i Agaval*' (line 23) against Death:—

Cāvin̲ai vēṇḍēn tavirppāy pōr̲r̲i.

Evidently his guru, by name Kuḷḷaccāmi or Māṅkoṭṭaiccāmi has told him that man could conquer Death. He was therefore a firm believer in the theory of the immortality of the soul. What Bharati apparently thought by saying that man could conquer death was that Man's soul was not mortal even though his body was. This could be inferred from the way in which he has appealed to Mahā Sakti either to kill his foul desire or to take away his breath, either to give light to his mind or to reduce him to a corpse:—

Mōgattaik kon̲r̲uviḍu—allāl en̲r̲an̲ mūccai nir̲uttiviḍu

* * * * *

Chintai teḷivākku—allāl itaic cetta uḍalākku.

Keats in his '*Ode to a Nightingale*' said

"Thou wast not born for death, immortal bird!
No hungry generations tread thee down;
The voice I hear this passing night was heard
In ancient days by emperor and clown."

and expressed himself in favour of leaving the world unseen, and fading away into the dim forest with the nightingale. He wanted apparently to get away from the world "where but to think was to be full of sorrow." Even so Bharati wanted to soar above and live like a bird, to eat without toil, to reap without sowing, to spend the night with stories, and to sleep and sleep during night:—

(1) Mān̲uḍarē nīvir en̲ madhattaik
Kaikkoṇmin̲; pāḍupaḍal vēṇḍā.

(2) Viṭṭu viḍutalai āki nir̲pāy intac
Ciṭṭuk kuruviyaip pōlē—uṇḍu
Mar̲r̲ap poḷutu katai collit tūṅkip pin̲
Vaikar̲aiyākum mun̲ pādiviḻippur̲r̲u

(3) Ciṉṉañ ciṟu kuruvi pōlē—nī
Tirintu paṟantu vā pāppā.

(4) Kāṭṭil uḷḷa paṟavaikaḷpōl vāḻvōm appā.

Not that these poets had a brief for indolence but that they wanted to emphasise the pleasure of occasional idleness. In a Journal Letter of March-April 1819, as published by Miss Amy Lowell, it is found that John Keats wrote "This morning I am in a sort of temper, indolent and supremely careless." In a previous letter he wrote "I do not know what I did on Monday—nothing—nothing—nothing." Despite this, he wrote in the poem '*Sleep and Poetry*'

"But off despondence, miserable bane
They should not know thee, who athirst to gain
A noble end, are thirsty every hour."

In a similar manner, though Bharati said in one place "hark, toil not, nature will give you food," has said in another ('*Bhārata-māthā Nava-ratṉamālai*' St. 7), that those that serve the mother-country should never be despondent:—

Cuḍutaluṁ kuḷirtalum ůyirkku illai;
Cōrvu, vīḻccigaḷ toṇḍarukku illai.

In another point there is striking resemblance between Keats and Bharati and that is in regard to relationship of Man and Woman.

"Woman!
When I see thee meek, and kind, and tender,
Heavens! How desperately do I adore
Thy winning graces;—to be thy defender
I hotly burn—"

so said Keats. Bharati's line of argument was that since all things in the world are said to be God woman being a thing of the world ought to be God. This is expressed in his poem entitled '*Where is God*' (St. 3) and in '*Bharati Sixty-Six*' (St. 45). In this part of the country he had even a sermon to preach: Respect woman (Taiyalai uyarvu cey—'*New Ātti-cūdi*').

In his '*Ode to Fanny*' Keats said "Love, love alone, has pains severe and many" and in his Sonnet commencing as "I cry your mercy—love!" he said

O! Let me have thee whole—all—all—be mine!
That shape, that fairness, that sweat minor zest
Of love, your kiss, those hands, those eyes divine

* * * * *

Yourself—your soul—in pity give me all,
Withhold no atom's atom or I die.

What a parallel to Bharati whose burden of the song in the allegorical poem on the Indian Cuckoo is represented to be

Kātal kātal kātal,
Kātal pōyir̲ kātar̲ pōyir̲
Cātal, cātal, cātal!

The passage means "love, love, love, withhold love, withhold love, and I am dead, dead, dead." In a poem written to a lady in October 1819 Keats remarked

"Give me those lips again!
Enough! Enough! It is enough for me
To dream of thee!"

Bharati similarly had a craving which has been expressed in '*Kaṇṇammā —En̲ Kātali*' :—

Kāttiruppēn̲ōḍi—itu pār kaṇṇattu muttamonru.

Both Bharati and Keats apparently could not brook philosophical obstruction in the path of love. Bharati, for instance, in his vision of '*Krishna—a hunter—as his lover*' was told by him, "Away with your Shastras ! I want only happiness with you ":—

Ēḍi Sāttiraṅkaḷ vēṇḍēn̲—nin̲atu in̲pam vēṇḍumaḍi, kan̲iyē!

In another vision where Bharati was the lover and Krishna was the beloved, Bharati told Krishna, "Why this philosophy ! Would those that are warm in love care for this philosophy " ?

The passage runs:—

Sāttiram pēsukirāy—Kaṇṇammā! Sāttiram ētukkaḍi ?
Āttiram koṇḍavarkkē—Kaṇṇammā! Sāttiram uṇṭōḍi?

Apart from his appeal to the senses in other places, this alone would suffice to show that Bharati would take a place by the side of John Keats

as a poet of sensuous perfection. The way in which the wondrous serpent-woman has been developed from Burton's "Anatomy of Melancholy," transformed and recreated by Keats contains a happy parallel. The poem '*Lamia*'—Part II—has the following words:—

> Do not all charms fly
> At the mere touch of cold philosophy?
> There was an awful rainbow once in heaven:
> * * * * She is given
> In the dull catalogue of common things.
> Philosophy will clip an angel's wings,
> Conquer all mysteries by rule and line.

When the beautiful Lamia is about to be united in marriage with Lycius, there steps in Apollonius, his sage instructor, as an uninvited guest and with his eyes fixed on her, sends her into a swoon and cries out to Lycius

> "Fool, fool—from every ill
> Of life have I preserved thee to this day
> And shall I see thee made a serpent's prey?"

Because of the approach of the philosopher, Apollonius, the whole charm of the lovers is fled.

Bharati in his vision of '*Krishna as his Father*' has represented Him as one that would laugh at the untrue Shastras of mankind. Further in stanza 7 therein he has said that He was the giver of the Vedas but those Vedas are not in men's language and in what is called Veda to-day there is a small admixture of His Vedas. Thus, Bharati lamented that the Vedas had been written and revised by persons interested in showing their own religion as the best. What a parallel to this is contained in the words of Keats relating to persons who have written the history of Jesus Christ! Keats wrote "He (Jesus) was so great a man that though he transmitted no writing of his own to posterity, we have his mind and his sayings and his greatness handed to us by others. It is to be lamented that the history of Jesus was written and revised by men interested in the pious frauds of Religion".

Mr. F. M. Owen in his Study of Keats has told us that Keats was not merely a sensuous poet but something more. That his imagination and poetic genius carried him beyond the earliest developments of the mind to the spiritual and more prominent elements of human nature is Mr. Owen's opinion. If this is true of Keats, it is truer still of Bharati. Keats in a letter is reported to have said as follows:—"Give me this credit—Do you not think I strive—to know myself? Give me this

credit (of knowing myself) and you will not think that on my own account I repeat Milton's lines

> 'How charming is divine philosophy
> Not harsh and crabbed as dull fools suppose
> But musical as is Appollo's lute'

no—not for myself—Nothing ever becomes real till it is experienced". Bharati similarly has said in several places '*Know thyself*' (Deivam nī eṉṟu uṇar—'*New Ātticūdi*'). In '*Sarva Madha Samarasam*' (St. 10) the following is found:—"Thou art God, thou art God; God thou art; it is Delusion that takes hold of thy mind and says 'thou art not God'; Remove Delusion and thou wilt know thyself."

Bharati and Keats, who lived in two different countries have so many thoughts that are like and yet unlike. It would be very interesting to make a further comparison of them.

The Hormic Theory

(BEING AN EXPOSITION AND A CRITICAL EVALUATION WITH ORIGINAL SUGGESTIONS FOR THE IMPROVEMENT AND EXTENSION OF WILLIAM McDOUGALL'S PSYCHOLOGICAL THEORY).

By

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PART I

CHAPTER I

AN EXPOSITION OF THE HORMIC THEORY

Section I. Introduction.

"It is too simple to be true," said a not very friendly critic of McDougall's psychological theory. Yes; it is simple, so simple that it can be expressed in two simple sentences; "Animal, as well as human behaviour is *purposive*"; and "Purpose implies a purposing *mind.*" Yet, how profound has been the influence of this theory, not only on academic psychology, but also on the social sciences and animal biology! In psychology, McDougall's hormism has produced a Copernican revolution, shifting the centre of interest from the barren field of abstract cognitive analysis, to the real and living realm of feeling and conation. It has engendered in the psychologist a hitherto unknown degree of self-confidence and a spirit of hopefulness in his capacity to solve the riddles of life. To the student of the social sciences it offers, in the place of the unscientific and self-contradictory *ad hoc* psychologies which each one of them constructed for one's own narrow purposes at variance with and often in defiance of the others, a thoroughly tested, reliable and scientific psychology of human nature. And to the animal biologist, by forcing him to recognise the existence of *mind* even in the humblest of living creatures, hormic psychology opens up a vast vista of knowledge and experience hitherto hidden from him by mechanistic biology. Not only in these major fields, but in other minor ones too McDougall's influence is being felt. There is not a writer of any importance in psychology and the social sciences who does not refer to the great leader of the hormic school. What, then, are the outstanding features of this psychological theory which is known as the hormic theory ? It is to the task of supplying an adequate answer to this question that we shall address ourselves in this monograph. An attempt will be made to analyse the theory, and to set forth its various implications. At the same time a critical evaluation of the more significant contributions of the theory to the elucidation of the baffling psychological problems will be made, and, what is of the utmost importance, it will be shown how the defects in the theory may be rectified, and in what directions it may be fruitfully extended. This formidable task is undertaken, because we feel that when the conflicting schools of psychology come to realise the need, as they must very soon, for sinking their differences and for evolving a single all-embracing

psychological theory, they will find that in the hormic theory there is the foundation, well and truly laid, for a unified psychology.

Section II. The Background.

Such an outstanding and epoch-making psychological theory as the hormic theory could not have come into existence without a significant history behind it. But, the purely historical aspect of the theory is not of any great interest to us. What we need is a critical evaluation of the significant antecedents of the theory in the evolution of psychology. In common with the other contemporary schools, the hormic school revolted against the barren intellectualism and introspectionism of the later nineteenth century. Associationism with its atomistic conception of mental structure and function found for itself a fresh source of strength and support in mechanistic biology and chemistry, and physiology of the "muscle-nerve" preparation type. By 1900 a very interesting period of transition was reached in the evolution of psychology, wherein the germs of the brilliant contemporary theories seemed to lie unreconciled by the side of the old principles which were soon going to be thrown over-board. "In theory the psychologists of 1900 subscribed to the definition of psychology as the science of consciousness, but in practice they were studying performance as well as experience. In theory they were for an analytical psychology patterned after chemistry, ...but in practice they often disregarded this scheme. In theory they were mostly associationists, but not dogmatically so; the high noon of association was already past. In theory they were strong for a physiological psychology, but in practice they made a profound bow to the brain and passed on their way...."[1] It is against this background that we have to view the contributions not only of hormic psychology, but also of other contemporary schools. But in the case of the school we are considering there is an important middle ground which enters into, and colours the foreground. This middle ground is represented by behaviourism. "An outline of Psychology", which along with "an Outline of Abnormal Psychology" constitutes the most valuable contribution of McDougall to contemporary psychology, is in fact, one long sustained argument against the conclusions of mechanistic psychology. There are passages in the book illustrative of the use of the great forensic abilities of the author to shatter the conclusions of behaviourism. We have, therefore, to view the hormic theory as a protest not only against the older intellectualistic schools, but also against modern mechanistic behaviourism.

1. Woodworth, R. S.: Contemporary Schools of Psychology, pp. 10 and 11.

Some one has remarked that one taking up the study of McDougall for the first time may be led into the belief that our author is a behaviourist, because great stress is laid in his works on "performance" or "behaviour" as against "experience"; and animal studies figure most prominently in the opening chapter of his more important publications. It is true that McDougall attaches great value to the study of animal behaviour and of the active side of human behaviour, but that does not make him a behaviourist. Behaviourism and purposivism are in wide disagreement among themselves. Their agreement is negative in effect. It is similar to the pact which two opposed extremists may enter into for purposes of defeating a common enemy. Both took up a revolutionary attitude towards associationism, and condemned it most emphatically. But there the agreement ended. As soon as behaviourism and purposivism emerged from the distant back-ground of associationism, the latter separated itself from and protested against the aims and methods of the former. For behaviourism the "subject matter of psychology is behaviour —not conscious contents, not mental functions, not psycho-physical processes of any sort, but movements in time and space. Behaviour is the activity of the organism as a whole......Only objective methods are accepted as valid. Introspection is completely rejected".[2] The conditioned reflex is the principle *par excellence* of the behaviourist for explaining all the highly intricate and complex problems of human behaviour. The behaviourist sees nothing mysterious in personality, which is merely "the sum total of an individual's reactions and tendencies to reaction." Personality "can be studied by the matter of fact methods of science." "The whole system of behaviour, then, the complete personality, is built up out of a few simple reactions by the process of conditioning. A limited *repertoire* of native responses, the process of conditioning, the stimuli provided by the body and by the environment, social as well as physical—these are all that the behaviourist needs."[3] The S—R formula is the foundation of behaviourism; study of behaviour, prediction of future acts of behaviour and their control on the basis of this mechanistic formula are its aims. And against every one of the principles implied in the method and aims of behaviourism McDougall protested. So, we have to consider the development of purposivism against this middleground of S—R psychology. Purposivism exposes the inherent defects of behaviourism, corrects these defects, and then, after assimilating all that is of value in mechanism, towers over it in its new-

2. Heidbreder, E. Seven Psychologies, p. 243.
3. *Ibid.*

found strength drawn from the correct understanding of the hidden springs of human activities.

Section III. Some relevant aspects of McDougall's early Life and Work.

It will be helpful to our general understanding of the hormic position if, before we enter upon a critical discussion of purposivism, we could consider two topics, apparently of minor importance, but yet having some significant bearing on the general trend of McDougall's psychology. These are, (1) the influence of McDougall's early life on his psychology and (2) the value of our author's earlier work in the field of neurology.

All obituary notices of the great leader of hormism have drawn freely on McDougall's autobiographical sketch in the *"History of Psychology in Autobiography."* This article is a mine of information about the way in which McDougall's mind developed, and incidentally it throws light on certain obscure characteristics of purposivism. We may refer at once to the question which has been uppermost in the minds of many students of hormic psychology—why did not McDougall found a school, as Watson did or the Gertalt leaders did? The answer is found in the autobiographical essay. "I have never" says our author, "fitted neatly into any social group, never been able to find myself wholly at one with any party or any system, and, though not insensible to the attractions of group-life, group-feeling and thinking, have always stood outside, critical and ill-content."[4] This inherent mental trait is largely responsible for the utter indifference which McDougall displayed for the benefits to be derived from founding a school of Hormic Psychology. Had he been more aggressive, the hormic theory would have been better understood, and more widely recognised as the most satisfactory principle for the explanation of human behaviour. This fact was brought home to the mind of our author in a very poignant manner in his later life. In the Preface to *"Psycho-analysis and Social Psychology"*, published in 1936, McDougall writes, "I have realised too late that I might have done much more for my chosen science, had I from the first spoken with a less modest voice. It seems to me probable that, had I at the outset put forward my views in a more self-assertive and clamant fashion, I might have been acknowledged as the leader of a powerful and perhaps dominant school of psychology, instead of remaining *a well nigh solitary outsider* playing a lone hand; I might even have 'put over' the type of psychology which I believe to be most nearly true, and to be indispensable for the advance of all the social sciences. For, in psychology, far more than in any other field of science, *the prestige and authority of a*

4. *History of Psychology in Autobiography* (*Murchison*), Vol. I, p. 192.

like-minded group would seem to be essential to the success of any theory or system ".[5] The unfortunate mental trait to which McDougall has frankly confessed has forced him to stand aloof as *a solitary outsider*, and has deprived him of the power to create *a like minded group*. The loss is all on our side, the side of students of psychology.

There is another biographical incident of great importance to us. It relates to the genesis of the central hormic thesis, and illustrates strikingly the non-rational and intuitive origin of all great scientific hypotheses. "Lecturing one day in 1906" says McDougall, "I found myself making the sweeping assertion that the energy displayed in every human activity might in principle be traced back to some inborn disposition or instinct. When I returned home I reflected that this was a very sweeping generalisation, one not to be found in any of the books; and that if it was true, it was very important. I set to apply this principle in detail, becoming more and more convinced of its truth, and of its importance; and my social psychology emerged."[6] First an intuitive insight, and then rational development—that is the way in which science has developed. Accordingly, the great hormic truth revealed itself all on a sudden to the genius of McDougall in a flash of "insight," and then it was patiently developed by the founder of hormic psychology. And in the process of development the theory has undergone radical changes, not always for the better. One of the major aims of this monograph is to indicate the three main stages in the evolution of hormic psychology as marked out by McDougall's Social Psychology (1908), An Outline of Psychology (1923), and the Energies of Men (1932), and to show how on the whole the first named work is superior to the others.

The second topic, which we said is worthy of treatment in a preliminary approach to hormic psychology, is the significance of McDougall's work in the field of physiological psychology. Special importance is attached by us to this work, because it exemplifies the operation of the hormic principle even in the early physiological contributions of McDougall. In a series of brilliant papers contributed to *mind* and *Brain* McDougall showed how the synapse is the real seat of consciousness. As a fruitful corollary to this position he developed a theory of inhibition which is eminently purposive. "According to this theory, inhibition is always the negative aspect of a positive process—the

5. *Op. Cit.*, p. v (*Italics ours*).
6. History of Psychology in Autobiography (*Murchison*), Vol. I, p. 208.

whole event consisting in a redistribution of energy rather than a mere prevention of something that would otherwise occur......McDougall applied it to a great variety of phenomena at all levels of the nervous system; the reciprocal inhibitions of the spinal level, inhibitions on the sensory level,.........the mutual inhibitions of instincts, and finally many well-known features of the "attention process". The theory seems to fit in admirably, too, with the "displacement" and "sublimation" doctrines of the psycho-analysts and also (as McDougall himself has pointed out in a recent paper) with the phenomena of the conditioned reflex as demonstrated by Parlov."[7] The theory is of special importance to us, not because of its all-embracing nature, but because it lays the foundation for the category of *purpose* in biology and psychology.

Section IV. The Orienting Category of Purpose.

In estimating the value of McDougall's contribution to psychological theory, it is well to point out at the outset the orientation he has given to the entire field of the study of human nature in its many aspects by the introduction of the category of *purpose*. Causation is the ruling concept in the physical, and evolution in the biological sciences. The social sciences were wandering aimlessly without any such category or guiding principle. Facts had been gathered by the thousand, but those were like so many loosely scattered, disorganised and unoriented iron-filings in a non-magnetic field. McDougall brought into this chaotic mass the powerful electro-magnet of the category of purpose, and immediately the disorderly mass marshalled itself into an orderly sequence of events. Working with its aid and under its guidance the psychologist has no difficulty in unravelling the tangled skein of human behaviour, individual as well as social, conscious as well as sub-conscious. Truly may it be said that the introduction of the concept of purpose has produced a revolution in psychology as deep and significant as the Copernican revolution in mathematical physics. "If psychology can point" says Professor Koffka[8] "the way where science and life will meet, if it can lay the foundations of a system of knowledge that will contain the behaviour of a single atom as well as that of an amoeba, a white rat, a chimpanzee, and a human being, with all the latter's curious activities which we call social conduct, music and art, literature and drama, then an acquaintance with such a psychology should be worth while and repay the time and effort spent in its acquisition." Such a psychology is

7. Flugel, J. C.: A Hundred Years of Psychology, pp. 270-1.
8. Principles of Gestalt Psychology, p. 23.

the hormic psychology of McDougall, and we have no hesitation in affirming that the category which is its foundation is bound to prevail in the realm of the social sciences.

The introduction of the *orienting concept of purpose* into psychology was the result of the objective observation of animal behaviour carefully controlled by rigorous scientific standards. McDougall noted and analysed out certain characteristics of the behaviour of living organisms. They are *spontaneity* of movement; *persistence* of activity independent of the continuance of the stimulus; *variation* of direction of persistent movements in order *to overcome obstacles; cessation* of movements when the goal has been reached and the needs of the organism satisfied; *preparation* for the new situation towards the production of which the action contributes; *improvement* in the efficacy of behaviour with successive repetitions of the act; and finally the *total reaction* of the organism to the behavioural situation. Wherever we notice *all* these characteristics we may safely argue for the purposiveness of the activity of the behaving agent. Purposiveness is the essence of mental activity, and is an expression and manifestation of mind. *The view that all animal and human behaviour is purposive, and that purposive action is fundamentally different from mechanical process is the corner stone of the hormic theory.*

Section V. The Biological basis of Hormic Psychology.

In connection with and in support of his hormic hypothesis McDougall has made a very elaborate study of animals at all levels of the evolutionary scale—from the humblest amoeba to the most developed primate next to man. This has given rise to the belief that McDougall has made psychology biological, and the biological foundation has made hormic psychology much more scientific than it would otherwise be. The implications of this statement are far reaching. It is true that animal studies constitute a most important section of McDougall's major works on psychology. But it is not mechanistic biology that our author employs in his investigation of animal behaviour. It is not the biology of "dissection"; it is not the biology of the "muscle-nerve" preparation; it is not the biology of the dead animal, it is not even the biology of the body of the living animal, but it is the *biology of the mind of the animal* and of its purposive behaviour. He makes his position very clear in the *History of Psychology in Autobiography*. "I had come to see," he writes "more and more clearly that the main defect of the psychologies with which I had struggled in the opening years of the century was their acceptance or their compromise with, the mechanistic biology, and their consequent neglect

of the purposive or the biological aspect of all mental life." Besides his Lamarckian experiments on white rats are not controlled by the "tail-less-dog begetting tail-less-puppy" ideology, but by a purely *psychical outlook*. The acquired characteristic whose inheritance is being investigated is distinctly mental as it relates to "Maze Leaning."[9] Speaking of these experiments McDougall says, "....a positive answer indisputably established by experiment would not only give us a working theory of biological evolution, but would be a heavy blow to mechanistic biology. *It would place mind at the very heart of the evolutionary process instead of leaving it as a bye-product of that process* ......" Hence the biology which McDougall championed was not of the type which would pull psychology down to the level of a science dealing with muscles and bones, but that which would raise biology up to the higher level by forcing it to treat of the mind of animals.

Section VI. Mental Structure and Mental Function.

The consideration of purpose in the realm of animal and human behaviour leads us to the next great contribution of McDougall to psychological theory. Purpose implies a purposing mind. What, then, is the nature of this mind ? In answering this question McDougall draws a distinction between *structure and function* which has great value for students of psychology, normal and abnormal. The distinction, let us emphasise at once, is not the usual distinction between neural or cerebral structure and mental function which is somehow to be associated with that structure. It is not the distinction on the basis of which the puzzling difference between neurosis and psychosis is drawn. It is an epoch-making distinction between *mental structure* and *mental function* that McDougall attempts to draw for the first time in the history of psychology. This distinction is bound to revolutionise our outlook in psychology, particularly in abnormal psychology.

The method of inferring structure from function is used very widely in contemporary science. The minute details of the structural organisation relating to electrons and genes, which by their very nature are invisible, have been drawn with astonishing skill. That which is unobservable is made to generate observable behaviour under known conditions. And from the observed results the structure of the organisation which has given rise to these results is inferred by the hypothetico-deductive method. It is in this way that the relative organisations of electrons and protons in an atom, of atoms in a chemical compound, and of genes in a chromosome are reconstructed

9. *Op. cit.*, p. 215.

and presented to us. These, of course, are not arti-facts, but at the same time it must be remembered that they are only mental constructs or conceptual hypotheses, based no doubt on perceptual facts. While such a procedure is believed, to generate "hard objective facts" in the physical sciences, there is no reason why it should not yield the same result in psychology. McDougall employed this well-tried scientific method for establishing those mental facts which constitute the core of the hormic theory.

The implication of this procedure is so little known, even amongst those scientists who make an extensive application of it in their research fields, that it is necessary to elaborate it a little. Spectroscopy is now an important branch of experimental physics. The spectroscope yields, when it is employed in the experiments relating to the structure of the nucleus of matter, a negative with certain characteristic lines. These lines are made the starting points for an elaborate process of hypothetico-deductive reasoning at the end of which (after passing, no doubt, through the highly abstract and symbolic realm of mathematics) a picture is presented to us of the way in which the electrons dance round the protons. Between the final conclusion and the original premise, the connection is remote, inferential, tortuous and hypothetical. Yet the lay man believes that the physicist "sees" electrons just as we see books and inkstands on our table. So great is the ascendency over the lay mind that the scientist has secured! Similarly from the colour of the eye of the fruit-fly the experimental biologist infers not only the existence, but the exact position of the gene in a particular chromosome in the cell. Here, again the man in the street is blissfully unaware of the fact that the gene is a mental construct. But when the self-same method is employed in psychology, and equally objective conclusions drawn by the hard rigorous scientific method are presented to the lay public, the reaction is different. Every lay man has a mind, and therefore, is not the owner of a mind competent to criticise the conclusions of those who meddle in minds! However, we may assure the lay public that so far as the methodology of the investigation of mental structure goes, hormic psychology is on a level with mathematical physics and experimental biology.

McDougall attaches, very rightly, great importance to this distinction between mental structure and mental function. The concluding sections of the opening chapter of his great work, *An Outline of Psychology,* is devoted to this topic. "Mental structure is" he says there, "that enduring growing framework of the mind which we infer from the observed manifestations of mind in experience and in behaviour;

and ...... this develops, grows, and even when the mind is at rest, endures......". Next to the introduction of *purpose* into the erstwhile chaotic field of psychology, this distinction between *mental structure* and *mental function* ranks as the most significant contribution of McDougall to contemporary psychological theory.

Section VII. The Instinctual Structure of Mind.

The next important contribution is the nature of mental structure as inferred scientifically from behaviour. This is the foundation of hormic psychology, and in one sense, is the most valuable gift of McDougall to the whole race of psychologists and sociologists. After a very careful examination of behaviour among animals, primitive men and civilised nations, McDougall came to the epoch-making conclusion that *mind is instinctual in structure.* He has proved convincingly "that the great behaviour patterns which are so easily discernible in the animal world also underlie *all* human actions. "All is no exaggeration. Like the higher animals, we are born with a few big instinctive drives, forming the warp and the woof of our nervous system. These cause us to pay attention spontaneously to certain things, to feel certain strong desires and emotions in regard to them, and to set about acting in a particular manner. But the manner in which we shall strive for the goals that attract us is less precisely defined than with animals, just as animal instincts are less stereotyped than those of insects......"

"By a careful study of our emotional life and of human behaviour under primitive and special conditions, McDougall concluded that *Homo sapiens* and the higher animals are possessed of some fourteen distinct instinctive drives, i.e., inborn, unlearned ways of feeling and acting, which can nevertheless be modified by education to meet civilised needs. Through the veneer of civilised intentions it is often difficult to perceive the fundamental grain of our instinctive constitution, although most people with a frank self-analysis can discern the primitive instinctive drive beyond any of their actions. We have been taught new ways of gaining the old ends, ways not socially objectionable; we are stimulated by many novel settings in place of the old original exciting situation; occasionally we have even learned to be satisfied with goals slightly different from the original biological one....; but we remain, nevertheless, creatures drawing our life interests from instincts and behaving in predictable emotional patterns....." It is in these striking words that Professor R. B. Cattell sums up in *Your Mind and Mine*,[10] McDougall's

10. *Op. Cit.*, pp. 97-103.

contribution to psychology. There are one or two easily remediable errors in this admirable summary of the central hormic theme: the first is the reference to nervous system in speaking of the nature of instinctive drives; it is not the nervous system, but *mind* that is the seat of these drives: the second error lies in the reference to the *veneer* of civilisation; the difficulty lies not in seeing the relation between so called civilised behaviour and its primitive instinctive origins, but in seeing the relation between such behaviour and its correct instinctive foundation. When these defects are set right we shall have in the quotation given above the gist of McDougall's hormic theory.

Section VIII. The Hormic Revolt.

We are too near the event to realise fully the deep significance of the revolution that has taken place in psychology. Freud and McDougall have blazed the trail through the jungle of the human mind for all future psychologists. The utter futility of analytic psychology confined to cognition was keenly felt by the early sociologists and economists who began to theorise on their own account on the nature of human behaviour. These *ad hoc* psychologies of authors like Paret, Le Bon, and Trotter have had a most pernicious influence on the development of our science, and to this deplorable effect has been added the not less retarding influence of the crude creations misnamed psychologies of writers on ethics. To wipe out these popular psychologies is not easy, and will take a long time. McDougall has essayed the formidable task of setting things right by the publication of his *Social Psychology*. In spite of the simplicity, directness and convincingness of the theory propounded by the leader of the hormic school, misunderstandings of its fundamental doctrines persist in the minds of many leading psychologists. So great is the illusion-creating power of scientific terminology even when it is far removed from fact!

Section IX. What is an Instinct?

It has been mentioned already that hormic psychology gathers facts of mental structure from a careful observation of facts of behaviour. This process has shown that mind, of the animal as well as of man, is "*a bundle of instincts,*" to put it rather crudely and bluntly. There is nothing more and nothing less than "instinct" in the mind of any member of the whole range of living organisms from the humblest amoeba to the proudest human being. What, then, is an instinct? "An instinct" is an "innate disposition which determines the organism to perceive (to pay attention to) any object of a certain class, and to experience in its presence a certain emotional excitement and an impulse to action

which finds expression in a specific mode of behaviour in relation to that object."[11] In an oft quoted passage McDougall expresses, in language which reaches poetic heights, the great importance of these instinctive structures. "We may say, then, that directly or indirectly the instincts are the prime movers of all human activity; by the conative or impulsive force of some instinct (or of some habit derived from an instinct), every train of thought, however cold and passionless it may seem, is borne along towards its end, and every bodily activity is initiated and sustained. The instinctive impulses determine the ends of all activities and supply the driving power by which all mental activities are sustained; and all the complex intellectual apparatus of the most highly developed mind is but a means towards these ends, is but the instrument by which these impulses seek their satisfactions, while pleasure and pain do but serve to guide them in their choice of the means."

"Take away these instinctive dispositions with their powerful impulses, and the organism would become incapable of activity of any kind; it would lie inert and motionless like a wonderful clock-work whose main-spring had been removed or a steam-engine whose fires had been drawn. These impulses are the mental forces that maintain and shape all the life of individuals and societies, and in them we are confronted with the central mystery of life and mind and will."[12]

The concept of instinct is the very life and soul of the hormic theory. Instincts are placed by the hormic psychologist at the very centre of the vortex of ceaseless human strivings. They make or mar human individuals and human societies. There is no act of human behaviour which may not be traced ultimately to one or another of the fundamental instincts. As there is prevalent in the scientific world a great deal of misunderstanding, due either to ignorance or wilful neglect, regarding the nature of the claims and achievements of the central thesis of hormic psychology it is necessary for us to set forth clearly the structure of an instinct.

One of the great merits of the McDougallian system is the extensive use it makes of the funded psychological knowledge of the human race in literature and tradition, and in those stores of common-sense experience, namely, proverbs. "The wise psychologist will regard literature as a vast store-house of information about human experience, and will not neglect to draw from it what he can." Taking a word in common usage he refines its meaning, making its

11. An Outline of Psychology, p. 110.
12. Social Psychology, p. 18.

cannotation scientifically accurate, and then employs it in his psychology. He could have created, as Freud did, an elaborate scientific terminology removed far from current usage, and could have made psychology very abstruse and hence beyond lay cavil. But he chose to keep close to ordinary human experience. The result has been rather disastrous to the reputation of the hormic school of psychology. Critics have become blind to the fact that words in ordinary usage, such as instinct and emotion, when they occur in McDougall's works, have a special connotation. They have, in consequence, misinterpreted many of the valuable conclusions of hormism. To guard ourselves against such an insiduous temptation to climb down to easy going levels of pseudo-psychologising, and to warn critics of shallow understanding we shall present here a detailed picture of instinct as conceived by hormic psychology.

Following the laudable method of refining the connotations of words, McDougall first clears the ground by brushing aside the errors in the popular conception of instinct. When man constructs a very complicated piece of machinery, such as an automatic central telephone exchange, we say he is using his intelligence; but when an insect achieves a similar result, as the spider does when he constructs his trap-door device, we say that the action is instinctive. Animals are creatures of instinct while man alone is the proud possessor of intelligence. Instinct and intelligence are thus placed in opposition to each other. McDougall has demonstrated clearly in the opening chapters of *"An Outline of Psychology"* and *"The Energies of Men"* the utter folly of such a view. Drawing his examples from his own observation, and from those of eminent field biologists he has proved beyond any shadow of doubt that animals, even those low down the scale of evolution, are intelligent. It is true that long before McDougall, scientific workers in the field of natural science interested themselves in the problem of intelligence in animal behaviour. But our author was the first champion of animal intelligence to assemble a formidable battery of scientific evidence which shattered to shreds the mechanistic and tropistic conceptions of animal behaviour. Our behaviour has an unmistakable instinctive basis, and animals display remarkable intelligence in many of their acts of adaptation to the environment. Instinct and intelligence are to be used not as contradictory and mutually exclusive, but as complimentary principles of explanation of behaviour. In fact, intelligence is a part of instinct, and is subservient to it. "The chief lesson" says McDougall "I would have the student learn from the behaviour of insects is that Instinct and Intelligence are not two diverse principles of action or of guidance of action. Instinctive behaviour is indistinguishable from

intelligent behaviour by any outward mark..... Intelligence operates only and always in the service of the instinctive impulses to action ".[13] The conclusion is a great achievement in itself, backed as it is by an indisputable range of scientific evidence. Its implications, however, are of utmost value to the general hormic theory. It grounds cognition and the development of cognitive abilities firmly in conation, making the latter the living stem of which the former are only branches. It dispels the illusion of the old type of psychology that cognition is independent of conation, and is different from it in essence.

The second error which McDougall corrects is a purely scientific one, and so, much more difficult to tackle, and which even when disproved does not fail to exercise fascination over men's minds. Instinct is not to be identified with the congenitally determined preadaptation of the nervous system to react in a special way to specific stimuli. This is the biological view of instinct, and on this view instinctive behaviour is merely one kind of vital adaptation of the organism. Biologists, at any rate some of them, tend to regard instincts as combinations of reflexes, and in any case there is no attempt in biology to rise above the level of the body. Biology, as we have observed already, is interested only in the body of the animal, and its view of instincts is bound to be narrow and unsatisfactory. Psychology should not be misled by biology.

Having dispelled the illusions besetting the concept of instinct, it becomes the duty of the hormic psychologist to describe the true structure of instinct. The first point that hormic theory urges is that *instinct is a fact of innate mental organisation. It is a psychical fact. It is a concrete fact of mental structure or organisation inferred from facts of behaviour.* We are familiar with the marvellous models of life-like wax figures which move their limbs in a very realistic manner. One who has a knowledge of the working of electrical machinery appropriate to these models can, by a careful observation of the movements of these figures, reconstruct the structure of the mechanism hidden inside. Similarly the leader of hormic psychology, with a mind rich in information relating to animal behaviour, has constructed a picture of the structure of mind which initiates purposive behaviour. This picture let us assert, even at the risk of being condemned for unnecessary repetition, is scientifically accurate, and may, without any hesitation, be accepted as their guiding principle by those who seek for a true understanding of human nature.

(*To be continued.*)

13. An Outline of Psychology, pp. 92-3.

PRAMEYAMĀLĀ

BY

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EDITED WITH TRANSLATION AND NOTES

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॥ श्रीमते रामानुजाय नमः ॥

॥ वात्स्यश्रीवरदगुरवे नमः ॥

नमश्श्रीविष्णुचित्तार्यपदपङ्कजपांसवे ।
रामानुजमुनीन्द्रोक्तिरहस्यज्ञानहेतवे ॥
जगतामुपकाराय जातं यतिवरात्मना ।
प्रगुणीकृतसन्मार्गं भजामः पुरुषोत्तमम् ॥

॥ श्रीभाष्यप्रमेयमाला ॥

सच्चेतोमधुकरबृन्दसेवनीयां
सौरभ्यं श्रुतिशिरसस्समादधानाम् ।
वत्सानां कुलपतिरद्भुतामकार्षी-
दम्लानां वरदगुरुः प्रमेयमालाम् ॥

॥ अध्ययनविधिनिरूपणम् ॥

मीमांसाया विधिप्राप्तत्वरागतःप्राप्तत्वविवेकार्थमध्ययनविधिर्निरूप्यते । किमध्ययनविधिरर्थज्ञानपर्यवसायी, आहोस्विदक्षरराशिग्रहणमात्रे पर्यवस्यति ? अर्थज्ञानपर्यवसायीति पूर्वः पक्षः । तथा हि—अध्ययनविधेरक्षरराशिग्रहणमात्रपर्यवसायित्वे मीमांसाश्रवणस्य प्रवर्तकाभावादनारम्भणीया मीमांसा स्यात् । साङ्गवेदाध्ययनात्प्रयोजनवदर्थापातप्रतीतेरुत्पन्नो-

ऽनुरागो मीमांसायां प्रवर्तक इति चेत्, नैतत्; "वेदमधीत्य .... अभिसमावृत्य" "वेदमधीत्य स्नायात्" इति श्रुतिस्मृतिभ्यामध्ययनानन्तरं समावर्तनादिप्राप्तेर्मध्ये मीमांसावसराभावात्; मीमांसाश्रवणस्य रागप्राप्तस्य विधिबाधितत्वात्। विधिर्हि रागं बाधते; यथा 'न कलञ्जं भक्षयेत्' इत्यादिः। वैधे तु मीमांसाश्रवणे स्नानविधिरपि श्रवणमबाधित्वा ततः परस्तादेवावसरमश्नुते। स्वतःप्रतीतमप्यध्ययनानन्तर्यं समावर्तनस्यार्थज्ञानपर्यन्ताध्ययनविधिबलेन बाधितुं युज्यते। रागस्तु न विधिमन्यथाकर्तुमलम्। किञ्च अध्ययनविधेः पुरुषार्थपर्यवसानावश्यम्भावात् पाठमात्रस्य चापुरुषार्थत्वात्पुरुषार्थपर्यवसानायावश्यमर्थज्ञानपर्यन्तो विधिरास्थेयः। किञ्च यद्यक्षरराशिग्रहणमात्रपर्यवसायी विधिस्स्यात्, तदा पाठग्रहणार्थतया विनियुक्तत्वात्स्वाध्यायस्याविवक्षितार्थता स्यात्। ततश्च तदर्थविचाररूपा मीमांसा नारम्भणीया स्यात्; तस्मादध्ययनविधिरर्थज्ञानपर्यवसायीति।

राद्धान्तस्तु—नाध्ययनविधिरर्थज्ञानपर्यवसायी; किन्तु अक्षरराशिग्रहणमात्रे पर्यवस्यति; अप्राप्तप्रापकत्वाच्छास्त्रस्य। 'अप्राप्ते शास्त्रमर्थवत्' इति हि न्यायविदः। मीमांसाश्रवणञ्च साङ्गाध्ययनवतः पुरुषस्य प्रयोजनवदर्थापातप्रतीत्या रागतः प्राप्तमिति न तत्र विधिना व्यापरितव्यम्। स्नानविधिस्तु रागं बाधत इति चेत्, किमिति बाधते?। स्नानादेरध्ययनानन्तरभावित्वादध्ययनोत्तरकालस्य कृत्स्नस्य स्नानादिविध्यवरुद्धतया मध्येऽवसराभावान्मीमांसाश्रवणं बाध्यत इति चेत्, नैतदेवम्; न हि स्नानादिविधयः कृत्स्नं कालमवरुन्धते; रागतः प्राप्तानां द्रव्यार्जनभोजनादीनाञ्चानवसरप्रसङ्गात्। याजनाध्यापनप्रतिग्रहा हि द्रव्यार्जनोपायतया रागतः प्राप्ता इति न विधिविषयतामनुभवितुमर्हन्ति। श्रावयिता चाचार्यः कर्मविध्यनवरुद्धावसरलाभादेव हि श्रावयति। तस्मान्मीमांसाश्रवणस्यापि रागतः प्राप्तस्य स्नानादिविध्यनवरुद्धेष्वेव कालेष्ववसरसम्भवान्न तस्य स्नानादिविधिबाध्यता।

यत्तूक्तम्—विधेः पुरुषार्थपर्यवसानायार्थज्ञानपर्यवसायित्वमास्थेयमिति; तत्रेदं प्रष्टव्यम्। किं साक्षात्पुरुषार्थपर्यवसानाय विधेरर्थज्ञानपर्यवसायित्वाश्रयणम्? आहोस्वित् परम्परया पुरुषार्थपर्यवसानायेति?। न तावत्प्रथमः कल्पः; अर्थज्ञानस्यापि साक्षात्पुरुषार्थत्वाभावात्। तस्य हि स्वर्गादिसाधनयागाद्यनुष्ठानोपयोगितयैव पुरुषार्थत्वान्न स्वर्गादिवत्साक्षात्पुरुषार्थत्वम्

ततश्चार्थज्ञानपर्यवसायी विधिर्न स्यात्। द्वितीये तु कल्पेऽर्थज्ञानवत्पाठग्रहणस्यापि परम्परया पुरुषार्थत्वसम्भवात्तस्मिन्नेव विधिपर्यवसानं स्यात्। इयांस्तु विशेषः—एकस्मिन्पक्षे स्वतः प्राप्तमर्थज्ञानमिति तत्र विधिव्यापारकल्पनावैयर्थ्यम्; अन्यत्र च तदभाव इति।

यच्चोक्तम्—विधेः पाठग्रहणपर्यवसायित्वे स्वाध्यायस्य स्वार्थेष्वतत्परत्वमापद्यत इति; तन्न। न ह्यन्यतः प्राप्तमर्थपरत्वं पाठग्रहणपर्यवसायो विधिर्व्याहन्ति। यथा परमतेऽध्ययनविधिसिद्धमर्थपरत्वं स्वाध्यायस्य जपविधिर्न विहन्ति, तथात्रापि व्युत्पत्तिसिद्धं स्वाभाविकमर्थपरत्वन्नाध्ययनविधिर्विहन्तुमलम्। यथा च वह्नेरुष्णत्वभास्वरत्वशक्तियुक्तस्य पाकार्थमुष्णत्वशक्त्या विनियोगेऽपि भास्वरत्वशक्तिप्रयुक्तमर्थप्रकाशनं न विरुध्यते; एवमक्षरस्वरूपेण पाठार्थतया विनियोगेऽपि बोधकत्वशक्त्यार्थपरत्वं न विरुद्धम्। किञ्च, 'स्वाध्यायोऽध्येतव्यः' इति स्वाध्यायस्य कर्मत्वावगमात्तस्यैव साध्यत्वमवगम्यते। यथा 'अग्नीनादधीत' इत्यग्नीनां कर्मत्वावगमात्तेषामेव साध्यत्वमित्याधानविधिरग्निग्रहणमात्रे पर्यवस्यति; एवमध्ययनविधिः साध्यतयावगतस्वाध्यायग्रहणमात्रे पर्यवस्यति। स्वाध्यायशब्दवाच्यश्चाक्षरराशिमात्रम्; नार्थज्ञानमपि। तस्मात्स्वाध्यायशब्दवाच्योऽक्षरराशिरेवाध्ययनसाध्य इत्यवगम्यते। अत एवेदमपि निरस्तम्—यदध्ययनं नियोगविषयो न स्वाध्यायसंस्कार इति कैश्चिदुत्प्रेक्षितम्। द्रव्यनिष्ठस्य हि भावार्थस्य न नियोगविषयता युक्ता। यथा आधानस्याग्निनिष्ठस्य न नियोगविषयता, यथा चावघातादेर्व्रीह्यादिनिष्ठस्य न नियोगार्थता; अत्रापि स्वाध्यायस्य कर्मत्वावगमात्स्वाध्यायनिष्ठमध्ययनमवगतमिति न नियोगविषयत्वम्। 'सक्तूञ्जुहोति' 'सुवर्णं भार्यम्' इत्यादिषु कर्मत्वावगमेऽपि नियोगविषयत्वं दृष्टमिति चेत्, तन्न; कर्मत्वं नाम कर्तुः क्रिययाप्तुमिष्टतमत्वम्। अतः कर्मतयावगतस्य साध्यत्वं स्वतः प्रतीयते। क्वचित्तदेव हेतुवशादपोद्यते 'सक्तूञ्जुहोति' इत्यादिषु। कस्तत्र हेतुः? विनियोगान्तरादर्शनमिति ब्रूमः। संस्कार्यस्य हि द्रव्यस्य विनियोगान्तरेण भवितव्यम्। संस्कारो हि नाम कार्यान्तरयोग्यताकरणम्। अत्र त्वर्थबोधजपादिलक्षणकार्यान्तरदर्शनान्न स्वतः प्राप्तसंस्कार्यत्वस्यापवाद इति स्वाध्यायसंस्कार एवाध्ययनम्। अतोऽध्ययनविधिरक्षरराशिग्रहणमात्रपर्यवसायी; मीमांसारम्भश्च रागप्राप्त इति स्थितम्॥

॥ इति वत्सकुलतिलकश्रीवरदगुरुविरचितायां श्रीभाष्यप्रमेयमालायां
अध्ययनविधिनिरूपणम्॥

॥ अथ ऐकशास्त्र्यसमर्थनम् ॥

ऐकशास्त्र्यमथ ब्रूमः कर्मब्रह्मविचारयोः ।
शारीरकाद्यसूत्रोक्तपौर्वापर्यप्रसिद्धये ॥

वेदाख्यैकप्रबन्धार्थविषयत्वात्तदिष्यते ।
तन्निर्णयाख्यञ्च फलमेकमेव तयोर्यतः ॥

विषयैक्यं फलैक्यञ्च कर्मकाण्डेऽपि कारणम् ।
ऐकशास्त्र्यस्य धर्मो हि विषयस्तस्य निर्णयः ॥

फलञ्च तत्र वेदार्थः कृत्स्नो विषय इष्यते ।
तन्निर्णयः फलञ्चात्र तदैक्यादेकशास्त्रता ॥

अर्थभेदात्कर्तृभेदादन्योन्यञ्च विरोधतः ।
शास्त्रभेदप्रसङ्गश्चेन्नैवमत्र प्रसज्यते ॥

अध्यायपादषट्केषु प्रत्येकं भेद इष्यते ।
अवान्तरार्थभेदेन शास्त्रभेदावहो न सः ॥

धूर्तस्वामिकपर्दिभ्यां कृतयोर्व्याख्ययोर्द्वयोः ।
आपस्तम्बीयसूत्रार्थपरयोर्ह्येकशास्त्रता ॥

वैयाकरणवृत्त्यादौ भिन्नकर्तृकता तथा ।
दृष्टेति कर्तृभेदश्च न शास्त्रैक्यस्य बाधकः ॥

देवताविग्रहाद्यर्थनिषेधात्तत्समर्थनात् ।
विरुद्धार्थत्वमस्तीति यदुक्तं तन्न युज्यते ॥

कर्मस्वश्रुतवेदान्ताः श्रद्धावन्तो भवन्त्विति ।
तथा जैमिनिराचार्यो विग्रहादि निरस्यति ॥

एवमन्यपरोक्त्यापि मा भून्मन्दधियां भ्रमः ।
इति क्वचिन्निराचक्रे जैमिनिं बादरायणः ॥

बादरायणसूत्रेषु बहुशश्चास्ति जैमिनेः ।
त्रय्यन्तार्थप्रतिष्ठार्थं साक्षित्वेन परिग्रहः ॥

नन्वनन्यपरैवेयं जैमिनेरुक्तिरिष्यते ।
द्रव्यदैवतसामान्ये द्रव्यप्राबल्यसाधिका ॥

न चायमतिवादस्स्यादनुष्ठानविरोधतः ।
हविःप्राधान्यतस्सर्वे ह्यनुतिष्ठन्ति साधवः ॥

उच्यते तात्त्विकत्वात्र हविःप्राधान्यमीरितम् ।
किन्तु प्रातीतिकं, तच्च प्राथम्येन प्रतीतता ॥

प्रत्यक्षसिद्धं हि हविस्स्वरूपं देवता पुनः ।
शास्त्रैकवेद्या प्राथम्यं प्रत्यक्षस्यैव वस्तुनः ॥

अस्ति प्रतीतौ शास्त्रन्तु पश्चादेवावबोधकम् ।
अर्थस्य सन्निकर्षो हि बलीयस्त्वनिबन्धनम् ॥

श्रुत्यादौ साधितस्तद्वदत्रापि हि भविष्यति ।
अतश्शास्त्रैकवेद्याया देवतायास्तु वास्तवम् ॥

प्रातीतिकादप्राधान्यात्प्राधान्यं न विहन्यते ।
ननु शास्त्रैकवेद्यत्वाद्धविषो न प्रधानता ॥

प्रातीतिकी हविष्ट्वं हि न प्रत्यक्षस्य गोचरः ।
नैवं हविष्ट्वमात्रं हि शास्त्रवेद्यं तदाश्रयः ॥

द्रव्यं प्रत्यक्षसिद्धत्वान्न तु शास्त्रस्य गोचरः ।
देवतात्वं देवतायास्स्वरूपमिति च द्वयम् ॥

शास्त्रैकवेद्यमित्युक्त हविःप्राधान्यमव्ययम् ।
अतस्स्वरूपप्राधान्यं हविषो न विवक्षितम् ॥

बोधायनस्तु भगवानैकशास्त्र्यमुदैरयत् ।
ततश्चान्यपरैवोक्तिर्जैमिनेरिति निश्चितम् ॥

तस्मान्नार्थविरोधोऽस्ति कर्मब्रह्मविचारयोः ।
ऐकशास्त्र्यमतः कर्मब्रह्ममीमांसयोस्स्थितम् ॥

॥ इति वत्सकुलतिलकश्रीवरदगुरुविरचितायां श्रीभाष्यप्रमेयमालायामैकशास्त्र्यसमर्थनम् ॥

॥ अथ प्रपञ्चमिथ्यात्वभङ्गः ॥

नन्विदमैकशास्त्र्यं तत्प्रयुक्त पौर्वापर्यञ्चानुपपन्नम्; शारीरकावसेयस्याखण्डैकरसचिन्मात्रब्रह्मगोचरस्य ज्ञानस्य अविद्याकल्पितकर्मकर्तृसाधनफलादिविविधभेदावलम्बिना कर्मविचारेणानुपयोगात्, प्रत्युत विपरीतवासनोत्पादनद्वारेण विरोधाच्च । मिथ्याभूतस्य हि संसारस्य शुक्तिकारजतरज्जुसर्पादेरिवाधिष्ठानयाथात्म्यज्ञानमात्रमेव निवर्तकं युक्तम् । ब्रह्मव्यतिरिक्तस्य मिथ्यात्वमनुमानादिसिद्धम् । तथाहि — विवादपदं, मिथ्या, दृश्यत्वात, शुक्तिकारूप्यवदिति । श्रुतिश्च 'नेह नानास्ति' इत्यादिरिति ।

तदसत; दृश्यत्वहेतोरात्मन्यनैकान्त्यात् । कथम्? 'आत्मा वा अरे द्रष्टव्यः' 'दृश्यते त्वग्रयया बुद्धया' इत्यादिश्रुतिभिः । 'यत्तदद्रेश्यम्' इत्यादिश्रुतिष्वात्मनो दृश्य-

त्वप्रतिषेधोऽपि प्रतीयत इति चेत्, न; तस्मिन्नेव वाक्ये 'परिपश्यन्ति धीराः' 'दृश्यते त्वग्र्यया बुद्ध्या' इत्यादिषु दृश्यत्वविशेषविधानात्; दृश्यत्वनिषेधवचनस्य प्राकृतचक्षुरादिदृश्यतानिषेधपरत्वावगमाच्च। तथा च श्रुतिः 'न मांसचक्षुरभिवीक्षते तम्' 'न चक्षुषा गृह्यते नापि वाचा' 'न चक्षुषा पश्यति' इत्यादिका।

यच्च आत्मा दृश्यो न भवति, आत्मत्वात्, यद् दृश्यं न तदात्मा, यथा घट इत्यात्मनो दृश्यत्वनिषेधानुमानम्; तदपि अग्नीषोमीयहिंसा न धर्मः, हिंसात्वात्, यथा ब्राह्मणहिंसादि, इत्यनुमानवदागमबाधितम्। किञ्च, घटो दृश्यो न भवति, घटत्वात्, यद् दृश्यं तदघटभूतं दृष्टम्; यथा पटादीत्यपि प्रसज्यते। इदं रजतमितिवत् घटस्सन्, पटस्सन्निति घटाद्यधिष्ठानतयाभ्युपगतस्य सन्मात्रस्यापि घटादिवद् दृश्यत्वस्यावर्जनीयत्वादनैकान्त्यं सुस्पष्टम्।

विवादपदं मिथ्येति मिथ्यात्वं सत्यं उत मिथ्या? पूर्वत्र तेनैवानैकान्त्यम्। उत्तरत्र प्रपञ्चसत्यत्वसिद्धिः। अयमनुयोगो नित्यसमा जातिरिति चेत्, न; अधिष्ठानसंविदो मिथ्यात्ववादिनं माध्यमिकं प्रति मिथ्येत्युक्तिर्मिथ्येति भवता साधितत्वात्, तेन च भवत्संवित्तेरबाधितत्वाच्च। लोकेऽप्यपवरके घटोऽस्तीत्युक्तवन्तं प्रति केनापि घटो नास्तीत्युक्ते पुनरपि नास्तीत्युक्तिर्मिथ्येति वचनं यथा घटसद्भावसाधकं भवति, तथा मिथ्यात्वस्य मिथ्यात्वे प्रपञ्चस्य सत्यत्वसिद्धिः। न चात्र जातित्वम्; स्वव्याघाताभावात्। तर्हि नित्यसमायाः को विषयः? सत्यत्वस्य सत्यत्वासत्यत्वविकल्पेन, नित्यत्वादेश्च नित्यत्वानित्यत्वविकल्पेन दूषणम्। सत्यत्वनित्यत्वादेः प्रमाणसिद्धस्य स्वपरनिर्वाहादिरक्षितत्वात् तद्विकल्पे नित्यसमा; तर्काङ्गपञ्चकान्यतमहीनत्वादिति। दृश्यत्वानुमानं प्रत्यक्षानुमानागमैः प्रतिपन्नस्य सत्यस्य प्रपञ्चस्य मिथ्यात्वसाधनाद्धर्मिग्राहकप्रमाणविरुद्धञ्च। एवमनुमानान्तरेष्वपि दूषणमूह्यम्। एवं 'नेह नानास्ति' इत्यादिनिषेधवाक्यानामपि तत्तद्धर्मिग्राहकप्रमाणाविरोधेन स्वतन्त्रभेदनिषेधपरत्वं तत्तत्प्रकरणादिभिरवसितम्॥

॥ इति वत्सकुलतिलकश्रीवरदगुरुविरचितायां श्रीभाष्यप्रमेयमालायां प्रपञ्चमिथ्यात्वभङ्गः॥

॥ अथ भेददूषणनिस्तारः ॥

यत्तु भेदमिथ्यात्ववादिभिरुक्तम्—प्रमाणतः स्वरूपतश्च दुर्निरूपत्वाद्भेदो न सम्भवति। तथाहि—प्रत्यक्षं तावद्भेदग्राहकं भेदवादिभिरिष्यते। तत्र किं प्रत्यक्षकृत्यं स्वरूपग्रहणं भेदग्रहणञ्चैकम्? उत भिन्नम्? भिन्नत्वे च प्रत्यक्षं किं स्वरूपग्राहि? उत भेदग्राहि? अथ उभयग्राहि? उभयग्राहित्वे च युगपत्किम्? क्रमेण वा? न तावत् स्वरूपभेदग्रहणैक्यम्; प्रतियोगिनिरपेक्षत्वसापेक्षत्वलक्षणविरुद्धधर्माध्यासात्। भिन्नत्वपक्षे च स्वरूपमात्रग्राहित्वे भेदग्राहित्वं प्रत्यक्षस्य न स्यात्। भेदमात्रग्राहित्वन्तु न सम्भवति; स्वरूपग्रहणसापेक्षत्वाद्भेदग्रहणस्य। उभयग्राहित्वेऽपि यौगपद्यन्न सम्भवति। स्वरूपग्रहणप्रतियोगिस्मरणसापेक्षत्वाद्भेदग्रहणस्य, तन्निरपेक्षत्वाच्च स्वरूपग्रहणस्य। प्रत्यक्षज्ञानस्य क्षणिकत्वात्क्रमेणोभयग्राहित्वञ्च न सम्भवति। अतो न भेदः प्रत्यक्षविषयः। तदुक्तं **संवित्सिद्धौ**—

"यौगपद्यक्रमायोगाद्व्यवच्छेदविधानयोः।
ऐक्यायोगाच्च भेदो न प्रत्यक्षज्ञानगोचरः॥"[1]

इति। भेदग्रहणमत्र व्यवच्छेद इत्युच्यते, स्वरूपग्रहणं तु विधानमिति। अत एव च न प्रमाणान्तरविषयत्वं भेदस्य। अतो भेदः प्रमाणतो दुर्निरूपः; तथा स्वरूपतश्च। तथाहि—किं भेदो वस्तुनस्स्वरूपम्? उत धर्मः? न तावत्स्वरूपम्; स्वरूपभेदगोचरयोः घटः भिन्नः इति शब्दयोः हस्तः करः इतिवत् पर्यायत्वप्रसङ्गात्। किञ्च भेदस्य प्रतियोगिसापेक्षत्वात्, तन्निरपेक्षत्वाच्च स्वरूपस्य न स्वरूपं भेदः। ननु भेदस्य न प्रतियोगिसापेक्षत्वम्; स्वरूपस्यैव भेदत्वेन प्रतियोगिनिरपेक्षस्वरूपग्रहणेनैव भेदस्य गृहीतत्वात्। अयमस्माद्भिन्न इति भेदव्यवहारे तु प्रतियोगिसापेक्षत्वम्; न ग्रहणे। नैवम्; यदि भिन्न इति व्यवहारः स्वरूपविषयः, तदा तस्यापि प्रतियोगिसापेक्षत्वन्न स्यात्, घट इति व्यवहारवत्। यथा घट इति व्यवहारः स्वरूपविषयः न प्रतियोगिसापेक्षः, भेदव्यवहारोऽपि तथैव स्यात्। अपि च स्वरूपस्य भेदत्वे स्वरूपे

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१. 'प्रत्यक्ष इति यो भ्रमः' इति चतुर्थपादः संवित्सिद्धौ दृश्यते.

भिन्न इति व्यवहारो न स्यात्। भिन्नो हि भेदयोगी। अथ स्वरूपान्तराभ्युपगमेन भिन्न इति व्यपदेशोपपत्तिः, तर्हि तस्यापि स्वरूपान्तरापेक्षया अनवस्था स्यात्। नामान्तरेण धर्मपक्षाङ्गीकारश्च। किञ्च स्वरूपं किमनुवृत्तं व्यावृत्तं वा? अनुवृत्तत्वे भेदत्वहानिः। व्यावृत्तत्वे स्वरूपं स्वरूपमिति अनुवृत्तप्रयोगो न स्यात्। नापि स्वरूपविशेषो भेद इति वक्तुं शक्यम्। तत्र किं स्वरूपमेव विशेषः? स्वरूपस्य विशेषो वेति विवेचनीयम्। आद्ये प्रागुक्ता दोषास्स्युः। द्वितीये धर्मभेदपक्षस्वीकारस्स्यात्। अतो न स्वरूपं भेदः। नापि धर्मः। स किं स्वरूपाद्भिन्नः? उताभिन्नः? अभिन्नत्वे स्वरूपभेदपक्षाङ्गीकारस्स्यात्। भिन्नत्वे च तस्यापि भेदस्तद्धर्मस्तस्यापीत्यनवस्था। किञ्च धर्मिप्रतियोगिज्ञाने सति भेदग्रहणम्, भेदग्रहणे सति तयोर्धर्मितया प्रतियोगितया च ज्ञानमित्यन्योन्याश्रयणं स्यात्। न ह्येकमेव वस्तु एकापेक्षया धर्मितया प्रतियोगितया च प्रत्येतुं शक्यते। अन्यच्चान्योन्याश्रयणम्; जात्यादिधर्माणां धर्मिणश्च धर्मधर्मिभावग्रहणे सति भेदग्रहणम्, भेदग्रहणे सति धर्मधर्मिभावग्रहणमिति। न खल्वेकस्यैव स्वात्मानं प्रति धर्मधर्मितया प्रतिपत्तिस्सम्भवति। अतस्सन्मात्रस्यैव ग्राहकं प्रत्यक्षम्; न भेदग्राहीति।

अत्र प्रतिविधिः—इदं तावद्भेदापलापिनं प्रति पृच्छामः—किं भवान् भेदप्रतीत्यभावं ब्रूते? उत प्रतीतेरकारणत्वम्? अनिरूपितकारणत्वं वा? आहोस्विन्निर्विषयत्वम्? बाध्यविषयत्वं वेति? न तावदाद्यः कल्पः कल्पते; स्वपक्षपरपक्षदूषणादिसमस्तभेदव्यवहारोच्छेदप्रसङ्गात्, वेदान्ततत्त्वज्ञाननिवर्त्याभावेन सर्ववेदान्तानारम्भप्रसङ्गाच्च। अतो भवतापि भेदप्रतीतिरवश्याभ्युपगन्तव्या। भवदभ्युपगमश्च तथैव। द्वितीयेऽपि सिद्धायाः प्रतीतेरकारणत्वं किं तस्यास्सिद्धिविरोधि वा? न वा? नो चेन्न नः क्षतिः। विरोधि चेत् प्रतीतेस्सिद्धत्वादेव स्वसिद्धिविरोधपरिहाराय स्वकारणं स्वयमेव कल्पयति। कार्यं हि प्रतीतं कारणकल्पनायां प्रमाणम्। न पुनस्स्फुटावधारितं कार्यं कारणनिरूपणायापह्नवमर्हति। तथा च

संवित्सिद्धौ—

"सत्यं प्रतीतिरस्त्यस्या मूलं नास्तीति चेन्न तत्।
सा चेदस्ति तया मूलं कल्प्यतां कार्यभूतया॥"

इति। नापि तृतीयः; कार्यविशेषेणैव तदनुगुणकारणविशेषस्य निरूपितत्वात्। तदप्युक्तं **संवित्सिद्धौ—**

'क्लृप्तं चेन्द्रियलिङ्गादि तद्भावानुविधानतः'

इति। चतुर्थश्च न सम्भवति; स्वपक्षपरपक्षसाधनदूषणादिभेदप्रतीतेरपि निर्विषयत्वप्रसङ्गात्। तथा च सति स्वाभिमतासिद्ध्या भेदोऽप्रतिपक्षस्स्यात्। नापि पञ्चमः; समस्तभेदबाध्यत्वे तद्धेतुभूतप्रतीतेरपि बाध्यविषयत्वेन भेदापलापासिद्धेः। किञ्च, तर्केण हि भवतो भेदापलापः। तर्कस्य च व्याप्त्यपेक्षया व्याप्तिग्राहकप्रत्यक्षादिप्रमाणमूलत्वमवश्याश्रयणायम्। अतस्तर्कः स्वमूलबाधाय न भवति; स्वमूलबाधे स्वात्मलाभासिद्धेः। तर्कस्य प्रमाणानुग्राहकतया तदङ्गत्वात्तेन स्वानुग्राह्यप्रधानबाधश्च न सम्भवति। सूत्रितञ्च—'तर्काप्रतिष्ठानादपि' इति। अतोऽवश्यं भवतापि भेदोऽभ्युपगन्तव्यः।

यत्तु प्रमाणतस्स्वरूपतश्च दुर्निरूपत्वाद्भेदो न सम्भवतीत्युक्तम्, तदयुक्तम्; जात्यादिविशिष्टस्यैव वस्तुनः प्रत्यक्षविषयत्वात्; जात्यादेरेव प्रतियोग्यपेक्षया वस्तुनः स्वस्य च भेदव्यवहाराच्च। तथा हि—जात्यादिविशिष्टमेव वस्तु प्रत्यक्षेण प्रतीयते। तत्र विशेषणविशेष्ययोर्द्वयोरपि योग्यत्वाद्युगपदेव ग्रहणम्। भेदशब्देऽपि प्रयुज्यमाने तस्य पुत्रादिशब्दस्येव प्रतिसम्बन्धिनिरूपिताकारे व्युत्पन्नत्वात्प्रतियोग्यपेक्षेति न कश्चिद्दोषः। अत एवान्योन्याश्रयादिकमपि परिहृतम्। पर्यायत्वप्रसङ्गस्तु स्वरूपशब्दवत्परिहार्यः। तद्वदेव प्रतियोगिसापेक्षत्वनिरपेक्षत्ववैषम्यमपि दत्तोत्तरम्। व्यावृत्तव्यवहारे तु हेतुत्वाविशेषात्स्वरूपस्यापि भेदशब्दार्थत्वे न दोषः। तत्र भिन्न इति व्यवहारो धर्मभेदोल्लेखेन, व्यावृत्तव्यवहारहेतुत्वमात्रेण वा स्यात्। स्वरूपस्य व्यावृत्तत्वेऽप्यनुवृत्तोपाध्युपलक्षिताकारे स्वरूपशब्दस्य वृत्तेरनुवृत्तप्रयोगोपपत्तिः। धर्मपक्षेऽनवस्था तु संविदादिवत्स्वपरनिर्वाहेण परिहृता। अतः प्रत्यक्षसिद्धस्य भेदस्य प्रमाणतः स्वरूपतो न कश्चिद्दोष इति ॥

॥ इति वत्सकुलतिलकश्रीवरदगुरुविरचितायां श्रीभाष्यप्रमेयमालायां भेददूषणनिस्तारः ॥

॥ अथ भावान्तराभावसमर्थनम् ॥

यत्तु भेदस्यान्योन्याभावरूपत्वात्तस्य च षष्ठप्रमाणवेद्यत्वान्न प्रत्यक्षत्वमित्याहुः। तदसत्; अभावाख्यपदार्थान्तराभ्युपगमेऽपि प्रतिपत्त्यापरोक्ष्यादिभिस्तस्य प्रत्यक्षग्राह्यत्वसिद्धेः। भावान्तरमेवाभावमभिदध्महे; अतिरिक्तस्यानुपलम्भादनुपपत्तेश्च। ननु अघटं भूतलमित्यादिव्यवहारो भूतलाद्यतिरिक्तार्थनिबन्धनः; विशिष्टव्यवहारत्वात्, यदित्थं तदित्थम्, यथा घटघटितं भूतलमिति व्यवहार इत्यतिरिक्तसिद्धिरिति चेत्। अत्रोच्यते—प्रतियोगिबुद्धौ वस्तुधीरेवोपेता नास्तीतिव्यवहारहेतुरिति। तत्रातिरिक्तार्थस्तु तत्प्रतियोगिरूपो वा? तदन्यो वा कश्चिद् भूतलादिविशेषः? तदन्यो वा? तत्राद्ययोस्सिद्धसाधनता; प्रतियोगिनो घटादेः विशेषस्य च प्राङ्क(ङ्ग)णत्वादेरस्माकमपि सिद्धत्वात्। तदुक्तम्—'प्रतियोगिबुद्धौ वस्तुविशेषधीरेवोपेता' इति। न तृतीयः; प्रमाणाभावात्। विशिष्टव्यवहारस्य त्वदभ्युपेतया प्रतियोगिबुद्धिपूर्वकवस्तुधियैवोपपादितत्वात्, भवदभिमतार्थावगमकत्वाच्च। ननु घटोऽस्तीति विशिष्टव्यवहारेऽपि तथात्वमापद्येत। तथा च प्रामाणिकार्थपरित्यागः स्यादिति चेत्, तन्न; भूतलादिविशेषव्यतिरिक्तप्रतियोगिरूपार्थान्तराभावेन घटोऽस्तीति विशिष्टव्यवहारासिद्धेः। अभावरूपप्रतियोग्यभ्युपगमे तत्प्रतियोगिभावाभ्युपगमापातात्तमन्तरेण तदनिरूपणात्। स्वरूपेण निरूपणे भावत्वापाताच्च। तथा च लाघवाद्भाव एवास्तु; एतेनैव तद्व्यवहारसिद्धेः। यत्र कुत्रचित्सिद्धे भावरूपे प्रतियोगिनि तत्र तद्व्यवहारस्य तद्वत्तया दर्शनादन्यत्रापि तथैव कल्पनीयमिति प्रकृतेऽपि तथाभ्युपेयम्। नास्तीतिव्यवहारहेतुभूतदेशादिविशेषप्रतियोगिकेतरदेशादिविशेष एवास्तीतिव्यवहारहेतुरिति चेन्न; अन्योन्याश्रयणात्। अस्तिव्यवहारहेतुविशेषसिद्धौ नास्तिव्यवहारहेतुविशेषसिद्धिः; तत्सिद्धौ चास्तीतिव्यवहारहेतुविशेषसिद्धिरिति। वस्तुमात्रविवक्षायां सर्वत्र सर्वव्यवहारप्रसङ्गः।

किञ्च नास्तिव्यवहारहेतुधियमन्तरेण अत्र घटोऽस्तीति व्यवहारदर्शने सर्वैरभ्युपेते। न हि पित्रादिवत्केनचित्प्रतियोगिना घटादिर्निरूप्यते। न च सर्वोऽपि भावो भवता शक्य-

निह्नवः; निह्नवहेतुभूतविशिष्टव्यवहारतदर्थयोरभावे निह्नवस्यैवाभावात्। निह्नवाभावे च निह्नोतव्यमस्त्येव।

ननु पिशाचादिप्रतियोगिबुद्धिपूर्वकप्राङ्ग(ङ्ग)णत्वादिविशेषावगमेऽपि क्वचित्पिशाचाद्यभावव्यवहारो न जायते। तत्र त्वभावनामा कश्चिदस्त्येव; यदवगमे नास्तीति व्यवहारः; यस्य चानवगमे न तद्व्यवहार इति। तन्न; भावपक्षेऽपि समानत्वात्। देशादेः प्रत्यक्षत्वेऽपि पिशाचादिसम्बन्धस्य प्रमाणान्तरवेद्यत्वेन तदनवगमे न तद्व्यवहारः। देशादिविशेषधीरेव भवतां नास्तीतिव्यवहारहेतुरिति चेत्; तन्न; तत्प्रतियोगिग्राहकग्राह्यविशेषविशिष्टत्वेन देशादेरभ्युपगमात्तथान्यत्र क्लृप्तत्वाच्च। तद्वदेव तदस्तिताव्यवहारोऽपि भविष्यतीति चेत्, न; पिशाचादिसद्भावानभ्युपगमे तद्विशेषोपलम्भकप्रमाणाभावात्; तद्विशेषोपलम्भमूलस्य विशेषस्यैवासिद्धेस्तदस्तीति व्यवहारस्यानुपपन्नत्वात्; तत्सिद्धौ तदतिरिक्तविशेषकल्पनागौरवाच्च। तावन्मात्रेण च तन्नास्तीत्यादिव्यवहारोपपत्तेः। विशिष्टव्यवहारस्य च भूतलातिरिक्ततद्गतघटादिविशेषव्याप्तस्य पक्षस्य तदभावेऽभ्युपगते सर्वानुमानभङ्गप्रसङ्ग इति चेत्, न; द्रव्यत्वानुष्णत्ववदुपपत्तेः। द्रव्यत्वविशेषप्रयुक्तमनुष्णत्वम्; न तु द्रव्यत्वमात्रप्रयुक्तमिति हि तत्र निर्णयः। अत्रापि विशिष्टव्यवहारविशेषप्रयुक्तं देहल्यादिविशेषातिरिक्तघटादिविशिष्टत्वम्; न तु विशिष्टव्यवहारमात्रप्रयुक्तमिति सन्तोष्टव्यम्। तदेतत्सर्वमभिहितम्—'प्रतियोगिबुद्धौ वस्तुधीरेवोपेता नास्तीति व्यवहारहेतुः' इति। एवञ्च भावान्तरस्यैवाभावत्वात्तस्य प्रत्यक्षयोग्यत्वाद्भेदोऽपि प्रत्यक्ष इति स्थितम्॥

॥ इति वत्सकुलतिलकश्रीवरदगुरुविरचितायां श्रीभाष्यप्रमेयमालायां भावान्तराभावसमर्थनम्॥

॥ अथ अखण्डवाक्यार्थभङ्गः ॥

यत्तु समानाधिकरणपदसमुदायात्मकानामखण्डैकरसप्रतिपादकत्वमाचक्षते, तदपि मन्दम्; वाक्यान्तरवत्तेषामपि विशिष्टविषयत्वावश्यम्भावात्। इह खलु भगवता पतञ्जलिना महाभाष्ये 'लटश्शतृशानचावप्रथमासमानाधिकरणे' इत्येतत्सूत्रार्थविवरणावसरे सामानाधिकरण्यलक्षणमुक्तम्—'भिन्नप्रवृत्तिनिमित्तानां शब्दानामेकस्मिन्नर्थे वृत्तिस्सामानाधिकरण्यम्' इति। अस्यार्थः—प्रवृत्तेर्निमित्तं प्रवृत्तिनिमित्तम्। प्रकृष्टा वृत्तिः प्रवृत्तिः; शब्दस्यार्थे वृत्तिर्नाम तद्बोधनम्। तत्र विशेष्यभूतप्रधानार्थविषया वृत्तिः प्रवृत्तिः; तस्याः प्रवृत्तेर्निमित्तं द्वारम्। तच्च विशेषणभूतं जातिगुणादिकम्। समानं—एकं; अधिकरणं—विशेषणानामाधारभूतं विशेष्यम्; एकस्मिन्नर्थे वृत्तिरित्येकशब्देन समानशब्दो व्याख्यातः। अर्थशब्दश्च विशेष्यभूतप्रधानाभिधेयपरः। एतदुक्तं भवति—त्रिविधाश्शब्दाः केचिद्विशेषणतो विशेष्यतश्चैकार्थाः; यथा 'घटः कुंभः, नीलं कृष्णम्' इत्यादयः। केचिच्चोभयतश्च भिन्नार्थाः; यथा—'गौरजो महिषः, नीलं शुक्लं पीतम्' इत्यादयः। केचिच्च विशेषणतो भिन्नार्था विशेष्यतश्चैकार्थाः; यथा 'नीलमुत्पलम्', 'देवदत्तश्श्यामो युवा लोहिताक्षः' इत्यादयः। तत्र पूर्वकोटिद्वयव्यावृत्ततृतीयकोटिनिविष्टानां शब्दानां सामानाधिकरण्यमिति 'भिन्नप्रवृत्तिनिमित्तानां शब्दानाम्' इत्यादिवाक्येन प्रतिपाद्यते। तत्र 'भिन्नप्रवृत्तिनिमित्तानाम्' इत्यनेन विशेषणतो विशेष्यतश्चैकार्थानां नीलं कृष्णमित्यादीनां न सामानाधिकरण्यमित्युच्यते। एकस्मिन्नर्थे वृत्तिरित्यनेन चोभयतो भिन्नार्थानां 'गौरजो महिषः' इत्यादीनां न सामानाधिकरण्यमित्युच्यते। तस्माद्विशेषणतो भिन्नार्थानां विशेष्यतश्चैकार्थानां नीलमुत्पलमित्यादीनामेव सामानाधिकरण्यमिति। तत्र प्रवृत्तिनिमित्तशब्दयोरेवं वार्थः---प्रवृत्तिः—अभिधानम्; तस्य निमित्तं—अभिधेयम्। अर्थशब्दश्च अभिधेयवचनः। भिन्नाभिधेयानां शब्दानामेकस्मिन्नभिधेये प्रवृत्तिस्सामानाधिकरण्यम्। भिन्नविशेषणानां शब्दानामेकस्मिन्विशेष्ये वृत्तिस्सामानाधिकरण्यमित्युक्तं भवति। भिन्नपदसामर्थ्येन निमित्तशब्दनिर्दिष्टं विशेषणभूतमभिधेयमेकशब्दसामर्थ्येन चार्थशब्दनिर्दिष्टं विशेष्यभूतमभिधेयमित्यवगम्यते। अतश्चोभयथाप्यनेकविशेषणाभिधायिनां शब्दाना-

मेकस्मिन्विशेष्ये पर्यवसानं सामानाधिकरण्यमिति 'भिन्नप्रवृत्तिनिमित्तानां शब्दानाम्' इत्यादिसामानाधिकरण्यलक्षणवाक्येनोक्तं भवति ॥

ननु सामानाधिकरण्यस्य तावदेकार्थत्वमविगीतम्। तत्र समानाधिकरणानि सत्यादिपदानि किं सत्यत्वादिविशेषणमात्रपराणि? उत तत्तद्विशेषणविशिष्टपराणि? अथ स्वरूपमात्रपराणीति विवेचनीयम्। न तावद्विशेषणमात्रपराणि; विशेषणानामनेकत्वादेकार्थत्वासिद्धेः। नापि विशिष्टपराणि; विकल्पासहत्वात्। किं क्रमेण युगपद्वा विशिष्टार्थप्रतिपादनम् पदानाम्? न तावत्क्रमेण; विशेषणानामन्योन्यसमवायप्रसङ्गात्। प्रथममेकेन विशेषणेन विशिष्टतयावगतस्य वस्तुनः पश्चाद्विशेषणान्तरविशिष्टतयाववबोधनं हि क्रमेण प्रतिपादनम्। तत्र विशिष्टं प्रति विशेषणतयान्वीयमानं पूर्वविशेषणस्यापि विशेषणं भवतीति विशेषणानामन्योन्यविशेषणविशेष्यभावप्रसङ्गो दुर्वारः। अवर्जनीयश्च पदानां क्रमेणार्थप्रतिपादनम्। कुतः? उद्देश्योपादेयविभागवत्त्वात्सर्ववाक्यानाम्। नापि युगपत्; उद्देश्योपादेयविभागहानिप्रसङ्गेन युगपत्प्रतिपादनासम्भवात्। सम्भवे विशेषणानां परस्परैक्यप्रसङ्गाच्च। तथाहि—प्रातिपदिकानां विशिष्टार्थपरत्वे प्रातिपदिकार्थैक्यपरस्य समानविभक्तिनिर्देशस्य विशिष्टैक्यपरत्वमवश्याश्रयणोयमिति विशेष्यैक्यवद्विशेषणानामप्यैक्यं प्रतिपाद्यमापद्येत। किञ्च विशेषणानां व्यावर्तकत्वस्वाभाव्याद्विशेषणभेदेन विशेष्यभेदप्रसङ्गो दुर्वारः। तथाहि—भेदकं विशेषणम्, भेद्यं विशेष्यमिति विशेषणविशेष्ययोस्स्वरूपविवेकः। अतः पारिशेष्यात् समानाधिकरणपदानां स्वरूपमात्रप्रतिपादनपरत्वमास्थेयम्। एवं तर्हि पदानां पर्यायत्वं, एकेनैव पदेन स्वरूपं प्रतिपन्नमिति पदान्तरप्रयोगवैयर्थ्यं, प्रवृत्तिनिमित्तभेदाभावेन सामानाधिकरण्यलक्षणहानिश्च प्रसज्यते। नैवम्; एकस्यैवार्थस्य तत्तत्पदार्थविरोधिप्रत्यनीकपरत्वेन पदानामपर्यायत्वमर्थवत्त्वं, तत एव निमित्तभेदलाभात्सामानाधिकरण्यलक्षणसिद्धिश्च। तथाहि—विकारास्पदजडपरिच्छिन्नस्वरूपस्य कृत्स्नस्य जगतः कारणतयावगतस्य ब्रह्मणः कार्यगतविकारास्पदत्वजडत्वपरिच्छिन्नत्वशङ्कायां तद्व्युदासार्थं सत्यादिशोधकवाक्यं प्रवर्तते। तत्र सत्यपदं ब्रह्मणो विकारास्पदत्वशङ्कां निवर्तयति; ज्ञानपदं जडत्वशङ्कां, अनन्तपदञ्च परिच्छिन्नत्वप्रसक्तिम्। न चैतावता ब्रह्मणस्तत्तद्व्यावृत्तिरूपधर्मवत्त्वप्रसङ्गः; ब्रह्मस्वरूपस्यैव सकलेतरव्यावृत्तिरूपत्वात्। यथा शौक्ल्यादेः कार्ष्ण्यादिव्यावृत्तिस्तत्तत्पदार्थस्वरूपमेव; न धर्मान्तरम्; धर्मान्तरानुप-

लम्भात्। तदभ्युपगमेऽनवस्थानाच्च। अतः कार्ष्ण्यव्यावृत्तं रक्तिमव्यावृत्तं पीतिमव्यावृत्त शौक्ल्यमिति पदानां शौक्ल्यस्वरूपमात्रविषयाणां व्यावर्त्यभेदेन यथा न पर्यायत्वमर्थवत्त्वमेकार्थत्वञ्च, तथा सत्यादिपदानां ब्रह्मस्वरूपमात्रविषयाणामप्यसत्यादिव्यावर्त्यभेदेन न पर्यायत्वादिदोषप्रसक्तिः।

नन्वेवं सत्यत्वादिगुणविशिष्टवस्तुवाचिनां सत्यादिपदानां तत्तद्गुणपरित्यागेन तत्तद्विरोधिव्यावृत्तस्वरूपमात्रपरत्वे लक्षणा स्यात्। मैवम्—अवाच्योपस्थापने हि पदानां लक्षणा। यथा 'गङ्गायां घोषः प्रतिवसति' इत्यत्र गङ्गापदस्य कूलोपस्थापने। न हि कूलं गङ्गापदवाच्यम्। अत्र तु सत्यादिपदानां वाच्यैकदेशभूतविशेषणपरित्यागेऽपि वाच्ये प्रधानांशभूतविशेष्यस्वरूपप्रतिपादनान्न लक्षणाप्रसङ्गः। तथापि विशिष्टवाचिनश्शब्दस्य विशेष्यमात्रपरत्वे स्वारस्यभङ्गः प्रसज्यत इति चेत्, नैष दोषः। समानाधिकरणवाक्येष्वेकार्थपरत्वबलाद्विशेषणपरित्यागेन स्वरूपमात्रपरत्वमेव पदानां स्वारसिकम्। व्यधिकरणवाक्येष्वेव हि पदानां विशिष्टपरता स्वारसिकी। भवतु वा लक्षणा पदानाम्; तथापि न दोषः; वाक्यतात्पर्यानुगुणा हि लक्षणा तद्विरोधिमुख्यवृत्तेर्बलीयसी दृष्टा; यथा गङ्गापदे। सामानाधिकरण्यस्य ह्यैक्य एव तात्पर्यमिति सर्वसम्मतम्।

ननु सर्वपदानां लक्षणा न दृष्टचरी, अयुक्ता च। कैश्चित्पदैः वाक्यतात्पर्यनिश्चये सत्येव हि तदानुगुण्येन पदान्तरलक्षणा। केन पदेन वाक्यतात्पर्यं निश्चित्य सर्वपदलक्षणा स्वीक्रियते?

उच्यते—दृष्टा तावत् 'विषं भुङ्क्ष्व' इत्यादिषु सर्वपदलक्षणा। तत्र हि विषपदं निषिद्धभोज्यं लक्षयति। भुङ्क्ष्वेति भोजननिवृत्तिम्। तत्र योग्यतादिवशाद्वाक्यतात्पर्यनिश्चयः। सत्यादिवाक्येषु तु समानाधिकरणेषु समानविभक्तिबलादैक्यतात्पर्यनिश्चयः। तदविरोधाय प्रातिपदिकानां तु सर्वेषां लक्षणा स्वीक्रियते। एकपदलक्षणायामपि वाक्यतात्पर्यविरोध एव हेतुः। यथा गङ्गायां घोष इत्यादिषु। तदविरोधे त्वेकस्यापि पदस्य लक्षणा न दृष्टा। यथा 'गङ्गायां मत्स्याः प्रतिवसन्ति' इत्यादिषु। अतो वाक्यतात्पर्याविरोधाय एकस्येव सर्वपदानां लक्षणा न दोषाय। दृश्यते च विशेषणानां विशेष्यभेदकत्वम्। यथा खण्डो मुण्डः घटः पट इत्यादिषु।

ननु 'नीलमुत्पलम्' 'देवदत्तः श्यामो युवा' इत्यादिषु विशेषणभेदेऽपि विशेष्यैक्यं दृश्यते। नैष दोषः। तत्र हि स्वतः प्राप्तं विशेषणानां विशेष्यभेदकत्वं प्रत्यक्षविरोधेनापोद्यते। प्रत्यक्षाद्यगोचरे तु ब्रह्मणि विशेषणभेदप्रयुक्तो विशेष्यभेदः केन वार्यते? तस्मात्सत्यादिवाक्यमखण्डैकरसमेव ब्रह्म प्रतिपादयतीति ॥

अत्र प्रतिविधीयते—सत्यादिवाक्यं सत्यत्वादिगुणविशिष्टमेव ब्रह्म प्रतिपादयति। 'नीलमुत्पलम्' इत्यादिषु समानाधिकरणवाक्येषु अनेकविशेषणविशिष्टैकार्थपरत्वव्युत्पत्तेः। सत्यादिवाक्यस्य समानाधिकरणत्वाच्च। तथा च सामानाधिकरण्यलक्षणं 'भिन्नप्रवृत्तिनिमित्तानां' इत्यादिनोक्तं शाब्दिकैरिति प्रदर्शितम्। तत्र यदुक्तं—सामानाधिकरण्यस्यैकार्थपरत्वव्युत्पत्तेरैकार्थ्यस्य च पदानां विशेषणमात्रपरत्वे विशिष्टपरत्वे चासिद्धेः स्वरूपमात्रैक्यपरत्वं सत्यादिसमानाधिकरणपदानामास्थेयमिति। तन्नोपपद्यते; त्वदुक्तविकल्पदूषणयोः त्वत्पक्षेऽपि प्रसङ्गात्। तथाहि—सत्यादिपदानि किं विरोधिमात्रपराणि? यद्वा स्वरूपमात्रपराणि? किं वा विरोध्यवच्छिन्नस्वरूपपराणि? न तावद्विरोधिमात्रपराणि; तेषामनेकत्वेनैकार्थत्वासिद्धेः। नापि स्वरूपमात्रपराणि; तथा सति पदानां पर्यायत्वप्रसङ्गात्; एकेनैव पदेन स्वरूपं प्रतिपन्नमिति पदान्तरप्रयोगवैयर्थ्याच्च। नापि तदवच्छिन्नस्वरूपपराणि; विकल्पासहत्वात्। किं वा विरोधिनां स्वरूपावच्छेदकत्वमुपलक्षणतया? विशेषणतया वा? न तावदाद्यः कल्पः; एकेनोपलक्षणेन स्वरूपं प्रतिपन्नमिति उपलक्षणान्तरवैयर्थ्यात्। 'उपलक्ष्याद्बहिर्भूत उपलक्ष्यप्रतीत्युपायो धर्म उपलक्षणम्' इति ह्युपलक्षणविदः। तथा च शाखादिषु दृश्यते। कथं तर्हि भवत्पक्षे जन्मादिबहूपलक्षणवत्त्वमेकस्यैव ब्रह्मणोऽभ्युपगम्यत इति चेत्। उच्यते—तत्र ह्युपलक्ष्यस्य धर्मिणो ब्रह्मण एकत्वेऽपि प्रत्युपलक्षणमुपलक्ष्यधर्मभेदोऽस्माभिरभ्युपगम्यते। अन्यथा तत्राप्यनेकोपलक्षणवैयर्थ्यं प्रसज्यत एव। त्वत्पक्षे त्वनेकोपलक्षणोपलक्ष्यधर्मभेदानभ्युपगमादुक्तदोषो दुर्वारः। तदभ्युपगमे हि ब्रह्मणस्सविशेषत्वप्रसङ्गः। नापि द्वितीयः; विशेषणभूतानां विरोधिनामनेकत्वेनैकार्थत्वासिद्धेः। विशेष्यान्तर्भूतो विशेष्यप्रतीत्युपायो धर्मो हि विशेषणम्। विशेष्यान्तर्भावो नाम ज्ञाप्यान्तर्भावः। विशेषणभूतार्थभेदेऽपि विशेष्यभूतप्रधानार्थैक्यादैकार्थ्यसिद्धिरिति चेत्, तत्सखण्डवाक्यार्थवादिनोऽपि समानम्। कस्तर्हि विशेष आवयोरिति चेत्, अयमेव विशेषः यदेकस्य मते पदानां लाक्षणिकत्वम्; इतरस्य तु तेषां मुख्यत्वमिति।

NYAYAPARISUDHI

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॥ श्रीः ॥

॥ श्रीमते हयवदनपरब्रह्मणे नमः ॥

॥ श्रीमते रामानुजाय नमः ॥

॥ श्रीमते निगमान्तमहादेशिकाय नमः ॥

श्रीमान् वेङ्कटनाथार्यः कवितार्किककेसरी ।
वेदान्ताचार्यवर्यो मे सन्निधत्तां सदा हृदि ॥

॥ न्यायपरिशुद्धिः ॥

॥ प्रत्यक्षाध्यायः ॥

पत्युस्संयमिनां प्रणम्य चरणौ तत्पादकोटीरयोः
संबन्धेन समिध्यमानविभवान् धन्यांस्तथान्यान् गुरून् ।

॥ श्रीः ॥

॥ श्रीमते निगमान्तमहादेशिकाय नमः ॥

वन्देऽद्वन्द्वं द्वन्द्वं श्रितपरतन्त्रं निदानमखिलानाम् ।
दशरथजनकापत्यं स्थिरवाणीमौलिभूषणं किमपि ॥

वकुलभूषणपादसरोरुहप्रवणमानससंयमिशेखरम् ।
कलयतो निगमान्तगुरोः पदे कृतधिये गुरवे करवै नमः ॥

श्रीश्रीनिवासयोगीन्द्रचरणाम्भोजमाश्रये ।
कटाक्षान्वीक्षते यस्य रक्षितुं सर्वरक्षकः ॥

लक्ष्मीकुमारताातयदेशिकवंश्येन कृष्णतातेन ।
न्यायपरिशुद्धिटीका क्रियते सन्न्यायदीपिकाभिख्या ॥

क्वाचार्यपादसूक्तिः क्व च मे स्थूला मितम्पचा बुद्धिः ।
श्रीसूक्तिभक्तिकलितं साहसमेतद् बुधोत्तमैस्सह्यम् ॥

प्रारिप्सितग्रन्थाविघ्नपरिसमाप्तिप्रचयगमनादिप्रयोजनाय विरचितं गुरुनमस्काररूपं मङ्गलं शिष्यशिक्षायै शिष्याणामनुषङ्गतो मङ्गलसिद्धये च ग्रन्थतो निबध्नन् चिकीर्षितं प्रतिजानीते—पत्युरिति । यद्यपि मङ्गलविरहेऽपि नास्तिकादिग्रन्थेषु समाप्तिर्दृश्यत इति न समाप्तिं प्रति मङ्गलस्य कारणत्वं संभवति ; तथापि विघ्नध्वंसद्वारा कचित्तत्प्रयोजकत्वमुपपद्यत एव ; समाप्तिप्रतिबन्धकदुरितविशेषरूपविघ्ननाशं प्रति मङ्गलस्य कारणत्वात् । स्मर्यते हि—

"मङ्गलाचारयुक्तानां नित्यं च प्रयतात्मनाम् ।
जपतां जुह्वतां चैव विनिपातो न विद्यते ॥" इति ।

नास्तिकादिग्रन्थेषु तु स्वतस्सिद्धविघ्नविरहादेव समाप्त्युपपत्तिः । आस्तिकाग्रेसरैस्तु विघ्नशङ्कया कुग्रन्थत्वपरिहाराय च मङ्गलाचरणमित्यन्यत्र विस्तरः । तत्पादकोटीरयोः—संयमिपतिचरणमस्तकयोः । संबन्धेनेति । चरणसंबन्धः शिष्यप्रशिष्यत्वादिः ; मस्तकसंबन्धः आचार्यप्राचार्यत्वादिः । समिध्यमानविभवान्—सम्यक्प्रकाशमानज्ञानादिसंपत्तीन् । शिष्यप्रशिष्यादीनां संयमिपत्युपदेशानुग्रहाधीना ज्ञानादिसंपत् । आचार्यप्राचार्यादीनां ज्ञानादिसंपत्तिस्तु उक्तसंबन्धेन ज्ञाप्यमाना सती अधिकं प्रकाशत इति भावः । तथा च समिध्यमानेत्यनेनाभिवर्धमानत्वप्रकाशमानत्वान्यतरवत्त्वमेव विवक्षितम् । धन्यानिति । धनलाभवत इत्यर्थः । 'धनगणं लब्धा' इति यत्प्रत्ययः । तत्पादकोटीरयोः संबन्धेनेत्यनुषज्यते । धनं पुरुषार्थसाधनं पुरुषार्थो वा । पुरुषार्थसाधनपरत्वे अभेदस्तुतीयार्थः । पुरुषार्थपरत्वे तु

शुद्धं संश्रितबादरायणतनोर्नारायणस्योक्तिभिः
श्रीमान् वेङ्कटनायकः स्थितिपदं निर्माति नीतेश्शुभम् ॥ १ ॥

जन्यत्वम्। पुरुषार्थश्च शिष्यादीनां मोक्षरूपः; आचार्यादीनां भगवत्प्रीत्यतिशयरूपः। तथेति। उक्ताकारद्वयवत्तयेत्यर्थः। उक्ताकारद्वयरूपोत्कर्षानुसन्धानपूर्वकमिति यावत्। अन्यान् गुरून्, प्रणम्येत्यनुषङ्गेनान्वयः। संश्रितेत्यादि। संश्रिता-शक्तिविशेषेणाधिष्ठिता, बादरायणतनुः—व्यासस्य तनुः, व्यासरूपा तनुर्वा येन तस्येति बहुव्रीहिः।

"सङ्कीर्णबुद्धयो देवा ब्रह्मरुद्रपुरस्सराः।
शरण्यं शरणं जग्मुर्नारायणमनामयम् ॥

तैर्विज्ञापितकार्यस्तु भगवान्पुरुषोत्तमः।
अवतीर्णो महायोगी सत्यवत्यां पराशरात् ॥

कृष्णद्वैपायनं व्यासं विद्धि नारायणं प्रभुम्।
को ह्यन्यो भुवि मैत्रेय! महाभारतकृद्भवेत् ॥"

इत्यादिकमिह भाव्यम्। उक्तिभिः। ब्रह्मसूत्रादिभिरिति भावः। शुद्धम्—श्रुत्याद्यविरुद्धम्। श्रुत्याद्यविरोधः ब्रह्मसूत्रादिसंवादादेव ज्ञायत इति। उक्तिभिरिति ज्ञापकहेतौ तृतीया। नीतेः। प्रमाणतत्परिकरतदनुग्राहकतर्करूपन्यायस्य—स्थितिपदं—मर्यादारक्षकं मर्यादालक्षण-प्रतिपादकं वा ग्रन्थम्। 'स्थानमर्यादयोः स्थितिः' इति, 'पदं व्यवसितत्राणस्थान-लक्ष्माङ्घ्रिवस्तुषु' इति च नैघण्टुकाः। शुभं—श्रेयस्साधनम्। अत्र च गौतमीयन्याय-विस्तरबहिष्कारपक्षे शुद्धमित्यनेन तद्व्यावृत्तिरभिप्रेता। तथा च गौतमीयन्यायविस्तरस्य श्रुत्यादिविरुद्धतया तमनादृत्य श्रुत्याद्याविरुद्धमन्यं निर्मातीत्युक्तं भवति।

अत्र पक्षे न्यायपरिशुद्धिरिति ग्रन्थनाम्ना परिशुद्धन्यायप्रतिपादकत्वं बोध्यते। न्यायस्य परिशुद्धिः यस्मिन्निति विग्रहवाक्यस्य यत्प्रतिपाद्यन्यायस्य परिशुद्धिरित्यर्थाङ्गीका-

विद्यास्थानेषु धर्म्येषु गण्यते न्यायविस्तरः ।
स च विप्लावितस्तैस्तैस्ततोऽत्र परिशोध्यते ॥ २ ॥

रात्तादृशार्थलाभः । न्यायशब्देन च प्रमाणतत्परिकरादिकं विवक्षितम् । स्वीकारपक्षे तु नोतेः स्थितिपदं गौतमीयन्यायविस्तरं शुद्धं निर्मीति श्रुत्याद्यविरुद्धार्थकतया करोतीत्यर्थः । ग्रन्थनाम्ना तु गौतमीयन्यायविस्तरस्य श्रुत्याद्यविरुद्धार्थकत्वप्रतिपादकत्वं बोध्यते । न्यायस्य गौतमीयन्यायविस्तरस्य परिशुद्धिः यद्ग्रन्थप्रतिपाद्येति विग्रहवाक्यार्थाङ्गीकारात् । तृतीयपक्षेऽप्ययमेवान्वयक्रमः । परं तु शुद्धमित्यस्य विरुद्धार्थकसूत्रसंबन्धरहितमित्यर्थः । ग्रन्थनाम्नि परिशुद्धिशब्देनाप्ययमेवार्थो बोध्यते । ननु

" पुराणन्यायमीमांसाधर्मशास्त्राङ्गमिश्रिताः ।
वेदाः स्थानानि विद्यानां धर्मस्य च चतुर्दश ॥

अङ्गानि वेदाश्चत्वारो मीमांसा न्यायविस्तरः ।
पुराणं धर्मशास्त्रञ्च विद्या ह्येताश्चतुर्दश ॥"

इत्यादिभिः न्यायविस्तरस्यापि पुराणादिवत् धर्म्यत्वेन परिगणनात् कथं तस्य बहिष्कारस्संभवतीत्यभिप्रायेण शङ्कते—<u>विद्यास्थानेष्विति</u> । पुरुषार्थसाधनज्ञानहेतुष्वित्यर्थः । यद्यपीत्यादिः। <u>धर्म्येषु</u>—धर्मादनपेतेषु ; धर्महेतुभूतवेदार्थनिर्णयप्रयोजकेष्विति यावत् । 'धर्मपथ्यर्थन्यायादनपेते' इति यत्प्रत्ययः । <u>स चेति</u> । तथापीत्यादिः । <u>विप्लावितः</u>—श्रुत्यादिविरुद्धार्थकतां नीतः । <u>तैस्तैः</u>—कणादपक्षिलादिभिः । <u>परिशोध्यत</u> इति । परिशुद्धिप्रयोजकव्यापारः क्रियत इत्यर्थः। अत्र परिशुद्धग्रन्थान्तरकरणस्यापि अधिकं त्वित्यादिन्यायेन विशेषणीभूतपरिशुद्धिप्रयोजकत्वानपायात्तत्सङ्ग्रहो बोध्यः । अयं भावः—पुराणन्यायेत्यादिषु न्यायशब्देन न्यायविस्तरशब्देन च वेदार्थनिर्णयोपयोगिप्रमाणादिप्रतिपादकग्रन्थस्यैव विवक्षिततया वेदविरुद्धार्थकस्य बहिष्कारे न दोष इति । अङ्गीकारपक्षे तु बौद्धादिग्रन्थवत् श्रुत्यादिविरुद्धार्थकस्य गौतमीयन्यायविस्तरस्यात्यन्तबहिष्कार्यतया किमर्थं तच्छोधनमित्याशङ्कापरिहारकतया उक्तश्लोकावतारो

॥ गौतमसूत्रबहिष्कारपक्षः ॥

यद्यपि कथञ्चिदाक्षपादं सत्पक्षे निक्षेप्तुं शक्यम्; न च कणभक्षपक्षनिक्षेपवत् क्लेशः; नापि तत्कर्ता गौतमस्तामसेषु परिपठ्यते; नापि च विप्रलम्भकत्वख्यातिः; तथापि ब्रह्मसूत्रकारादिबहिष्कृतत्वान्नातीव वयमाद्रियामहे। न खल्वार्षत्वादिभिस्तदादरः; अतिप्रसङ्गात्।

बोध्यः। तैस्तैरिति। न तु ग्रन्थकर्तुर्विरुद्धार्थतात्पर्यमिति भावः। तत इति। धर्म्यत्वाद्विप्लावितत्वाच्चेत्यर्थः। अत्र—अस्मिन्ग्रन्थे। परिशोध्यत इति। श्रुत्याद्यविरुद्धार्थकतया व्याख्यायत इत्यर्थः, न तु बहिष्क्रियत इति भावः।

अविरोधेन व्याख्यानसंभवात् कुतो बहिष्क्रियत इति शङ्कते—यद्यपीति। कथञ्चिदिति। श्रुत्यादिविरुद्धार्थकतया भासमानानां सूत्राणां वक्ष्यमाणरीत्या अविरुद्धार्थकतया व्याख्यानेनेत्यर्थः। आक्षपादम्—अक्षपादेन गौतमेन प्रोक्तं न्यायविस्तराख्यं शास्त्रम्—सत्पक्षे—श्रुत्याद्यविरुद्धपक्षे; सतां वेदान्तिनां पक्षे वा। ननु तर्हि काणादादिपक्षस्यापि तथाङ्गीकारप्रसङ्ग इत्यतस्तद्वैषम्यमाह—न चेति। कणभक्षः—कणादः। निक्षेपवत्—निक्षेपस्येव। 'तत्र तस्येव' इति वतिः। क्लेश इति। अशक्यतेत्यर्थः। यथा वायुपरमाण्वाकाशनित्यत्वादिप्रतिपादकानां 'अद्रव्यत्वेन नित्यत्वमुक्तम्' 'द्रव्यत्वनित्यत्वे वायुना व्याख्याते' इत्यादिकणादसूत्राणां श्रुत्याद्यविरुद्धार्थकरणमशक्यम्, तथा गौतमसूत्रस्य कस्यापि तादृशार्थकरणं नाशक्यम्। तामसेषु परिपठ्यत इति। शाक्यादय इवेति भावः। अनेन शाक्यादिपक्षवैषम्यमुक्तं भवति। विप्रलंभकत्वख्यातिरिति। 'त्वं हि रुद्र महाबाहो मोहशास्त्राणि कारय' इत्यादिषु रुद्रादीनामिवेति भावः। अनेन पाशुपतादिपक्षवैषम्यमुक्तं भवति। ब्रह्मसूत्रकारादीति। आदिना नाथमुनिप्रभृतयः परिगृह्यन्ते। आर्षत्वादीत्यादिना प्राज्ञप्रणीतत्वप्राज्ञपरिगृहीतत्वादयो गृह्यन्ते। अतिप्रसङ्गादिति। चार्वाकमतप्रभृतीनामप्यादरणीयत्वप्रसङ्गादित्यर्थः।

प्राज्ञानां प्रथमेनैव गुरुणा हि स्वयं पुरा ।
लोकायतमतं प्रोक्तं लोकविप्लवकारणम् ॥ ३ ॥

अथवा--पितामह एवात्र प्रमाणम् , य इन्द्रविरोचनयोश्चार्वाकमतमुपदिष्टवान् । तथा गौतमोऽपि संभाव्यते । अथापि--

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तदेवोपपादयति—प्राज्ञानामिति । गुरुणा—बृहस्पतिना । लोकायतमतं—चार्वाकमतम् । प्रोक्तमिति । तथोक्तं हरिवंशे षड्विंशेऽध्याये—

"एतेषां बुद्धिसंमोहमकरोद् बुद्धिसंमतः ।
नास्तिवादार्थशास्त्रं हि धर्मविद्वेषणं परम् ॥

परमं तर्कशास्त्राणामसतां तन्मनोरमम् ।
न हि धर्मप्रधानानां रोचते वै कथान्तरे ॥

ते तं बृहस्पतिकृतं शास्त्रं श्रुत्वाल्पचेतसः ।
पूर्वोक्तधर्मशास्त्राणामभवन् द्वेषिणस्तथा ॥
प्रचक्रुर्न्यायरहितं तन्मतं बहुमेनिरे ॥" इति ।

पितामहः—प्रजापतिः । अत्र—विप्रलिप्सया श्रुत्यादिविरुद्धार्थोपदेशे । चार्वाकमतमुपदिष्टवानिति । छान्दोग्ये अष्टमाध्याये स्पष्टमेतत् । संभाव्यत इति । विप्रलिप्सया शास्त्रप्रवर्तकत्वप्रतिपादकपुराणाद्यभावेऽपि श्रुत्यादिविरुद्धस्य इन्द्रियभौतिकत्वादेः प्रतिपादनाद्भ्रमप्रमादशक्त्यभावनिश्चयाच्च तथा संभाव्यत इति भावः । संभावना—उत्कटैकतरकोटिकस्संशयः । वक्ष्यमाणरीत्या अविरुद्धार्थपरतया व्याख्यानसंभवात् निश्चीयते इति नोक्तम् । शङ्कते—अथापीति ।

“ काणादशाक्यपाषण्डैस्त्रयीधर्मो विलोपितः ।
त्रिदण्डधारिणा पूर्वं विष्णुना रक्षिता त्रयी ॥”

इति स्मृतेः,

“ बहवः पुरुषा राजन् सांख्ययोगविचारिणः ।
नैत इच्छन्ति पुरुषमेकं कुरुकुलोद्भव ! ॥
समासेन तु तद्व्यासः पुरुषैकात्म्यमुक्तवान् ॥”

इति महाभारतोक्तेश्च युक्तं तत्तद्बहिष्कारः । इह तु न तथेति चेन्न;

काणादेति । काणादाः—काणादमतानुयायिनः वैशेषिकाः । शाक्याः—बौद्धाः । पाषण्डाः शैवादयः । त्रयीधर्मो विलोपित इति । ननु वैशेषिकैर्वेदोक्तधर्माभ्युपगमात् कथं तेषामपि तद्विलोपकत्ववचनमुपपद्यते ? अनुगृहीतं हि ‘सांख्या वैशेषिकाश्च श्रुतिपरिपठितं धर्ममैच्छन्न तत्त्वम्’ इति चेन्न; श्रुत्युक्तधर्माणां तत्तद्देवतान्तर्यामिभगवदाराधनरूपत्वाद्यनुपगमेन विलोपकत्ववचनोपपत्तेः । न चैवं सति साङ्ख्यानामपि विलोपकत्वं स्यादिति वाच्यम्; इष्टत्वात् । अत एव हि तुल्यन्यायतया वचनस्योपलक्षणार्थत्वमभिधीयते । त्रिदण्डधारिणेति । दत्तात्रेयरूपतया अवतीर्णेनेत्यर्थः। पुरुषाः—कपिलपतञ्जलिप्रभृतयः । एकं पुरुषं—सर्वसाधारणमात्मानम्; स्वेतरसमस्तवस्तुशरीरकमीश्वरमिति यावत् । नेच्छन्तीति। निरीश्वरसाङ्ख्यमते ईश्वरस्यैवानुपगमात् । सेश्वरसाङ्ख्ययोगमतयोरीश्वराभ्युगमेऽपि तस्य सर्वशरीरकत्वानुपगमादिति भावः । समासेनेति । व्यासस्तु तत्—श्रुत्यादिप्रसिद्धं, पुरुषैकात्म्यं संक्षेपेण प्रतिपादितवान् । पुरुषैकात्म्यं—पुरुषस्य विष्णोः ऐकात्म्यं सर्वसाधारणात्मकत्वम्; सर्वशरीरकत्वमिति यावत् । एकः आत्मा यस्य चिदचिदात्मकप्रपञ्चस्य स एकात्मा, तस्य भावः, ऐकात्म्यम् । पुरुषेण विष्णुना ऐकात्म्यं पुरुषैकात्म्यमित्यपि वदन्ति । इहेति । गौतमविषय इत्यर्थः । न तथेति । न वाचनिको बहिष्कार इत्यर्थः । तथा च तद्बहिष्कारो न युक्त

तुल्यन्यायतया वचनस्योपलक्षणार्थत्वात्। न खलु तद्वा तादृग्वेति कश्चिद्विशेषः। यद्यपि काशकुशावलम्बनन्यायेन पक्षान्तरादाधिक्यमस्य पक्षस्य, अथापि न तद्वेदान्तसन्निधौ; न खलु मशकाद्बलिष्ठोऽपि मातङ्गः कण्ठीरवमुपरुणद्धि ॥

"यदक्षपादः प्रवरो मुनीनां शमाय शास्त्रं जगतो जगाद।
कुतार्किकाज्ञाननिवृत्तिहेतुः करिष्यते तस्य मया निबन्धः ॥"

इति वाक्यमक्षपादपक्षपातेनोक्तमित्यनास्थेयम् ॥ उक्तं च पूर्वाचार्यैः—

"काणादमाक्षपादं वा कापिलं तन्त्रमेव वा।
तन्त्राण्येतानि सर्वाणि न तन्त्राण्यात्मनिर्णये ॥" इति ॥

इति भावः। तुल्यन्यायतयेति। बहिष्कार्यतानियामकस्य श्रुत्यादिविरुद्धार्थप्रतिपादनपरत्वस्यात्रापि सत्त्वादिति भावः। उपलक्षणार्थत्वादिति। अन्येषामपि संग्रहार्थत्वादिति भावः। काकेभ्यो दधि रक्ष्यतामित्यत्र काकशब्दस्य दध्युपघातकत्वावच्छिन्न इव काणाद इत्यादेः श्रुत्यादिविरुद्धार्थप्रतिपादकत्वावच्छिन्ने लाक्षणिकतेति भावः। काशकुशावलम्बनन्यायेनेति। बह्वर्थसंवादाल्पार्थविरोधादिरूपदुर्बलयुक्त्यवलंबनेनेत्यर्थः। मुख्यकल्पासंभवेऽनुकल्पावलंबनन्यायेनेति वा। अयं भावः—वेदप्रामाण्यवादिमतान्तरमवलम्ब्य बौद्धादिमतनिरसने प्रसक्ते नैयायिकमतमेव तत्राभ्यर्हितत्वेन स्वीक्रियते, न तु साङ्ख्यादिमतम्। ततश्च वेदान्तमतं मुख्यकल्पत्वेन, नैयायिकमतमनुकल्पत्वेनेति। न तद्वेदान्तसन्निधौ इति। वेदान्तशास्त्रादाधिक्येन तत्तुल्यतया वा परिग्राह्यतायां न तदुपयोगीत्यर्थः। इममेवार्थं दृष्टान्तेन विशदयति-न खल्विति। शमायेति। आत्यन्तिकदुःखनिवृत्तिरूपमोक्षायेत्यर्थः। आक्षपादबहिष्कारे पूर्वाचार्यसंवादमाह—उक्तं चेति। तन्त्राणि शास्त्राणि। आत्मनिर्णये—यथावस्थितात्मस्वरूपनिर्णये। न तन्त्राणीति। न कारणानीत्यर्थः। 'तन्त्रं कुटुम्बकृत्ये स्यात्कारणे च परिच्छदे। शास्त्रे प्रधानसिद्धान्ते' इति विश्वः।

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॥ अवच्छेदकतासरः ॥

महामहोपाध्यायकृष्णताताचार्यैः

विरचितः

अण्णामलैविश्वविद्यालयन्यायाध्यापकेन

वे. सुब्रह्मण्यशास्त्रिणा

प्रकाशितः

1940

॥ श्रीगुरुभ्यो नमः ॥

। भूमिका ।

न्यायमहारण्यनव्यमार्गप्रतिष्ठापकाः श्रीमन्तः गङ्गेशोपाध्यायाः तत्त्वचिन्तामणौ 'यद्विषयकत्वेन लिङ्गज्ञानस्यानुमितिप्रतिबन्धकत्वं तत्त्वं हेत्वाभासत्वम्' इत्यादरेण हेत्वाभासं लक्षयामासुः। तच्च ग्रन्थं व्याचक्षाणाः शिरोमणिभट्टाचार्याः यद्विषयकत्वेनेति तृतीयया स्वरूपसंबन्धरूपावच्छेदकत्वविवक्षणं दोषैकदेशे वह्न्यभावादावतिव्याप्तिसंपादकमिति मन्यमानाः 'अवच्छेदकत्वञ्चेहानतिरिक्तवृत्तित्वम्' इति प्रत्यपादयन्। तद्ग्रन्थविवरणावसरे लक्षणे सामान्यपदपूरणेनोपक्षिप्तं स्वरूपसंबन्धरूपावच्छेदकताघटितपरिष्कारं अन्ते असाधारण्याव्याप्तिदोषेण दूषयित्वा शिरोमण्यभिमतं अनतिरिक्तवृत्तित्वरूपावच्छेदकत्वपक्षं अपूपुषन् श्रीमद्गदाधरभट्टाचार्यचक्रवर्तिनः।

भट्टाचार्योदीरितदोषपरिहारेण स्वरूपसंबन्धरूपावच्छेदकत्वघटितमेव हेत्वाभाससामान्यलक्षणं, असाधारण्यविषयित्वावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगित्वज्ञानवैशिष्ट्यानवच्छिन्नप्रतिबन्धकत्वविरोध्यनुमितिजनकत्वसमूहालम्बनानुमितिप्रतिबध्यत्वान्यतमे अवच्छेदकतासंबन्धेन यद्रूपावच्छिन्ननिरूपकताकविषयितात्वव्यापकत्वं निवेश्य परिष्क्रियते अत्रावच्छेदकतासराभिधे निबन्धे। नातिविस्तृतया नातिसंक्षिप्तया अध्येतृजनव्युत्पत्तिदायिन्या भट्टाचार्यसरण्या दुरूहानंशान् व्युत्पादयन्नयं ग्रन्थः अध्यापकानामध्येतॄणाञ्च बहूपकरोतीत्यत्र नास्ति संशयलेशोऽपि। अपरोऽप्ययं विशेषः यदत्र विदुषां हृदयङ्गमा अनुगमपद्धतिरपि वितता वर्तते।

एतद्ग्रन्थस्य प्रणेतारः तिरुप्पक्कुलि **अप्पावैयज्ञारिति** प्रसिद्धाः महामहोपाध्याय**कृष्णताताचार्याः** मार्को पञ्चाशतः वत्सरेभ्यः पूर्वं काञ्चीमण्डलमलञ्चक्रुः। एभिर्विरचिताः (१) शतकोटिखण्डनम् (२) सत्प्रतिपक्षखण्डनम् (३) मण्डनम् (४) सत्प्रतिपक्षविचारः (५) सामान्यनिरुक्तेः कापि व्याख्या (६) वादकल्पाभिधं तत्पत्रम् (७) अवच्छेदकतासरः इत्येते न्यायग्रन्थाः नैयायिकतिलकानानन्दतुन्दिलयन्ति।

दिगन्तविश्रान्तयशोभिः गोश्रीदेशाभिजनैः (Cochin State) नैयायिकतिलकैः माण्दिट्ट कुञ्जुनम्बूदिरीति विश्रुतैः ब्रह्मश्रीयुतशास्तृशर्मभिः पूर्णत्रयीशालये (Trippunithura) स्वेनैव शोधितस्वीयादर्शप्रदानपूर्वकं प्रोत्साहितोऽहमेतद्ग्रन्थप्रकाशने प्रावर्तिषि। एतैश्चास्मिन् निरमायि विषमस्थलटिप्पणी यस्यां दुरूहानुगमविषमग्रन्थानां तात्पर्यं विवृतम्। विना एतादृशीं टिप्पणीं तादृशपरिष्काराणामैदम्पर्यं नावधारयितुं पार्यते इत्यवचनसिद्धमेव तत्परिशीलिनां विदुषाम्। अतोऽत्र सापि संयोजिता।

एतद्ग्रन्थप्रकाशनाय शोधितस्वीयादर्शदानेन बहु उपकृतवतां ब्रह्मश्रीयुतशास्तृशर्मणां (कुञ्जुनम्बूदिरिमहाशयानां) प्रत्युपकारं कमपि कर्तुमशक्तोऽहं कृतज्ञतामेव केवलं निवेदयामि।

तथा एतद्ग्रन्थमुद्रणे बहु आनुकूल्यं दर्शितवत्सु अण्णामलैविश्वविद्यालयाधिकृतेषु अधमर्णोऽहमस्मीति शम्।

अण्णामलैनगरम्
10—11—'40

वे. सुब्रह्मण्यशास्त्री
प्रकाशकः

॥ श्रीः ॥

॥ अवच्छेदकतासरः ॥

॥ हरिः ॥

॥ श्रीगणपतये नमः ॥

॥ अविघ्नमस्तु ॥

अनाहार्यज्ञानवृत्तित्वविशिष्टयद्रूपावच्छिन्ननिरूपकताकविषयितात्वव्यापकं प्रकृतानुमितिप्रतिबन्धकतानिरूपितस्वरूपसंबन्धरूपावच्छेदकत्वं तद्रूपावच्छिन्नत्वं दोषत्वमिति कल्पे पाषाणमयत्ववत्पर्वते अतिव्याप्तिः, प्रतिबन्धकतायां ज्ञानवैशिष्ट्यानवच्छिन्नत्वनिवेशे च प्रतिहेतुव्यापकसाध्याभावसमानाधिकरणप्रतिहेतुमत्पक्षे अव्याप्तिः, तस्य प्रकृतानुमितिप्रतिबन्धकतानुपयुक्तपदार्थघटिततया अलक्ष्यत्वाङ्गीकारेऽपि असाधारण्ये अव्याप्तिरित्युक्तम् ।

अत्र पक्षधर्मत्वाविषयकज्ञानवैशिष्ट्यानवच्छिन्नत्वस्य प्रतिबन्धकतायां निवेशे नासाधारण्याव्याप्तिः ॥ १ ॥

नचैवं सति ह्रदो वह्निमान् जलादित्यत्र [1]सरिज्जलव्यापकवह्न्यभावे अतिव्याप्तिः सरिज्जलवान् ह्रदः इति ज्ञानस्य पक्षधर्मताविषयकत्वात् । यदि च प्रकृतपक्षतावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नविशेष्यतानिरूपितप्रकृतहेतुतावच्छेदकतापर्याप्त्यधिकरणधर्मपर्याप्तावच्छेदकताकप्रकारत्वानिरूपकत्वमेव पक्षधर्मत्वाविषयकत्वमिति नोक्तदोषावसरः इत्युच्यते । तदा ह्रदो वह्निमान् काञ्चनमयजलादित्यत्र असाधारण्ये अव्याप्तिः तन्निश्चयीयप्रतिबन्धकतायाः जलवान् ह्रदः इति ज्ञानवैशिष्ट्यावच्छिन्नत्वात् तादृशज्ञानस्य उक्तपक्षधर्मत्वाविषयकत्वादिति वाच्यम् ॥ २ ॥

पक्षधर्मताज्ञानवृत्तिभेदप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकत्वज्ञानवैशिष्ट्यावच्छिन्नत्वोभयाभावस्यैव प्रतिबन्धकतायां निवेशात् । अवच्छेदकता च अवच्छेदकतासंबन्धावच्छिन्ना । तथाच

टिप्पणी—१. अत्र केवलजलव्यापकवह्न्यभावस्य असाधारण्यतया लक्ष्यत्वात्तत्त्यागः ।

काञ्चनमयजलवान् ह्रदः इति ज्ञानस्यापि जलवद्ध्रदनिश्चयत्वेन असाधारण्यनिश्चयीयप्रतिबन्धकतायामवच्छेदकत्वान्नाव्याप्तिः, न वा सरिज्जलव्यापकवह्न्यभावे अतिव्याप्तिः जलवान् ह्रदः इति ज्ञानस्य तन्निश्चयीयप्रतिबन्धकतायामनवच्छेदकत्वात् ॥ ३ ॥

न चैवं सत्यसाधारण्ये अव्याप्तिः तन्निश्चयासमानकालिके पक्षधर्मताज्ञाने प्रतिबन्धकतावच्छेदकत्वविरहात् । यदि च 'स्वावच्छिन्नविषयकनिश्चयविशिष्टपक्षधर्मताज्ञाननिष्ठभेदप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकत्वस्यैव निवेशान्नायं दोषः । निश्चयवैशिष्ट्यं सामानाधिकरण्यकालिकविशेषणत्वोभयसंबन्धेनेत्युच्यते । तदा स्वरूपासिद्धावव्याप्तिः, तन्निश्चयविशिष्टानाहार्यपक्षधर्मताज्ञानाप्रसिद्धेरिति वाच्यम् ॥ ४ ॥

पक्षधर्मताज्ञाननिष्ठभेदप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकत्वमित्यत्रावच्छेदकतायाः स्वावच्छेदकतावच्छेदकविषयतासंबन्धावच्छिन्नाया एव विवक्षणीयत्वात्, असाधारण्यविषयकज्ञानासमानकालीनपक्षधर्मताज्ञानस्यापि स्वावच्छेदकतावच्छेदकविषयतासंबन्धेन प्रतिबन्धकतावत्त्वसंभवेन उक्तानुपपत्तिविरहात् ॥ ५ ॥

नचैवं सति जलवान् ह्रदो वह्निमान् धूमात्, ह्रदो वह्निमान् जलवद्ध्रदकालीनधूमादित्यादौ वह्निव्यापकीभूताभावप्रतियोगिजलजलव्यापकवह्न्यभावादावतिव्याप्तिः । एवं ह्रदो वह्निमान् वह्न्यभाववज्जलवत्कालीनधूमादित्यादौ जलवद्ध्रदे अतिव्याप्तिः पक्षधर्मताज्ञाने तद्ज्ञानीयप्रतिबन्धकतावच्छेदकतावच्छेदकविषयतासत्त्वनियमात् । यद्यपीयमतिव्याप्तिः अनतिरिक्तवृत्तित्वकल्पेऽप्यस्ति असाधारण्यसंग्रहाय विवक्षणीयस्य प्रकृतानुमित्यप्रतिबन्धकत्वपक्षधर्मताज्ञानकालीनत्वोभयाभावे यादृशविशिष्टविषयकत्वव्यापकत्वस्याक्षतेः । तथापि तत्कल्पे पक्षधर्मताज्ञाने अनाहार्यत्वमनिवेश्य असाधारण्याविषयकज्ञाननिष्ठपक्षधर्मताज्ञानकालीनत्वप्रकृतानुमित्यप्रतिबन्धकत्वोभयाभावे, असाधारण्याविषयत्वप्रकृतानुमित्यप्रतिबन्धकत्वोभयाभाव एव वा यादृशविशिष्टविषयकत्वव्यापकत्वस्य निवेशनीयतया न दोषः इति वाच्यम् ॥ ६ ॥

ज्ञानवैशिष्ट्यावच्छिन्नत्वासाधारण्यविषयित्वानवच्छिन्नत्वोभयाभावस्यैव प्रतिबन्धकतायां निवेश्यत्वात् ॥ ७ ॥

नचैवं सति ह्रदो वह्निमान् जलादित्यत्र जलवद्ध्रदे अतिव्याप्तिः वह्निव्यापकीभूताभावप्रतियोगिजलविषयकनिश्चयविशिष्टजलवद्ध्रदविषयकनिश्चयत्वावच्छिन्नप्रतिबन्धकतायां अवच्छेदककोटिप्रविष्टासाधारण्यविषयिताया अप्यवच्छेदकत्वात् । यदि च अवच्छेदककोटिप्रविष्टानामवच्छेदकत्वमप्रामाणिकं प्रतिबन्धकादिविशेषणस्यैव प्रतिबन्धकतावच्छेदकत्वादिति विभाव्यते । तदापि ह्रदवृत्तिजलेऽतिव्याप्तिः, वह्निव्यापकीभूताभावप्रतियोगि जलं ह्रदवृत्ति इति ज्ञानीयह्रदवृत्तिजलविषयितायाः असाधारण्यविषयितारूपतया तदवच्छिन्नप्रतिबन्धकतायामुभयाभावसत्त्वादिति वाच्यम् ॥ ८ ॥

असाधारण्यविषयितावृत्तिभेदप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकत्वस्यैव असाधारण्यविषयित्वानवच्छिन्नत्वपदेन विवक्षितत्वात् । अवच्छेदकता च अवच्छेदकत्वसंबन्धेन । तथा च केवलासाधारण्यविषयितायां ह्रदवृत्तिजलनिश्चयत्वावच्छिन्नप्रतिबन्धकतायाः अवच्छेदकतासंबन्धेनासत्त्वान्न दोषः ॥ ९ ॥

नच तथापि ह्रदो वह्निमान् द्रव्यत्वाभाववज्जलादित्यत्र प्रतियोगित्ववज्जले अतिव्याप्तिः । प्रतियोगित्वावच्छेदेन द्रव्यत्वावगाहिनिश्चयसहितस्य वह्निव्यापकीभूताभावप्रतियोगिजलरूपासाधारण्यनिश्चयस्य प्रतियोगित्वरूपावच्छेदकधर्मदर्शनमुद्रया प्रतिबन्धकत्वात् समानाकारकज्ञानीयविषयतानामैक्यात् केवलासाधारण्यविषयकज्ञानीयविषयताया अवच्छेदकत्वाक्षतेरिति वाच्यम् ॥ १० ॥

असाधारण्यविषयितावृत्तिभेदप्रतियोगितानवच्छेदकत्वपक्षसाध्यवैशिष्ट्यावगाहिबुद्धित्वावच्छिन्नप्रतिबध्यतानिरूपितत्वोभयाभावस्यैव असाधारण्यविषयित्वानवच्छिन्नपदार्थत्वात् , उक्तप्रतिबन्धकतायां तदक्षतेः ॥ ११ ॥

न च तथापि जलं वह्निमत् जलादित्यादौ प्रतियोगित्ववज्जले अतिव्याप्तिः, प्रतियोगित्वावच्छेदेन वह्न्यभावावगाहिनिश्चयसहितस्य असाधारण्यनिश्चयस्य अवच्छेदकधर्मदर्शनमुद्रया प्रतिबन्धकतायां पक्षसाध्यवैशिष्ट्यावगाहिबुद्धित्वावच्छिन्नप्रतिबध्यतानिरूपितत्वस्यापि सत्त्वादिति वाच्यम् ॥ १२ ॥

असाधारण्याविषयकभ्रमभिन्नज्ञानवृत्तित्वस्यैव असाधारण्यविषयित्वानवच्छिन्नत्वेत्यनेन विवक्षितत्वात् ॥ १३ ॥

न चैवं धूमवान् ह्रदो वह्निमान् जलादित्यत्र वह्निव्यापकीभूताभावप्रतियोगिजलवद्ध्रदे अतिव्याप्तिः, धूमाभावावच्छेदकत्वेन गृहीततादृशजलवद्ध्रदनिश्चये अवच्छेदकधर्मदर्शनविधया प्रतिबन्धकतायाः असाधारण्याविषयकभ्रमभिन्नज्ञानावृत्तित्वादिति वाच्यम् ॥ १४ ॥

असाधारण्याविषयकभ्रमभिन्नज्ञानावृत्तित्वासाधारण्यविषयितात्वव्यापकत्वोभयाभावस्यैव असाधारण्यविषयित्वानवच्छिन्नत्वपदार्थत्वात् । व्यापकता च अवच्छेदकतासंबन्धावच्छिन्ना । असाधारण्यविषयितेत्यनेन तादृशनिरूप्यनिरूपकभावापन्नविषयिताया एव विवक्षिततया, ह्रदो वह्निमान् धूमादित्यादौ असाधारण्याप्रसिद्ध्या अव्याप्तिः, प्रातिस्विकरूपेण नानाविधासाधारण्यविषयितानां निवेशे गौरवमिति तु न शङ्क्यम् । अनतिरिक्तवृत्तित्वकल्पेऽपि तादृशविषयितानिवेशावश्यकतायाः प्रागुक्तत्वात् ॥ १५ ॥

न च तथापि वह्निव्यापकीभूताभावप्रतियोगि जलम् जलवान् ह्रदः, तादृशं शैवालम् शैवालवान् ह्रदः इत्यादिसकलनिश्चयानां एकरूपेणैव प्रतिबन्धकतया असाधारण्याव्याप्तिर्दुर्वारा । तथाहि ज्ञानविशिष्टज्ञानत्वेन प्रतिबन्धकता । वैशिष्ट्यम् स्वीयवह्निव्यापकीभूताभावप्रतियोगित्वप्रकारताविशिष्टप्रकारतानिरूपितह्रदत्वावच्छिन्नविशेष्यतानिरूपकत्वसामानाधिकरण्यकालिकविशेषणत्वैतत्त्रितयसंबन्धेन । प्रकारतावैशिष्ट्यञ्च स्ववृत्तिसंबन्धावच्छिन्नत्वस्वनिरूपितविशेष्यतावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नत्वोभयसंबन्धेन । स्ववृत्तित्वं स्वनिष्ठप्रकारतानिरूपितावच्छिन्नत्वप्रकारतानिरूपितत्वसंबन्धेन । इत्थञ्च असाधारण्याविषयकभ्रमभिन्नज्ञानेऽपि असाधारण्यप्रतिबन्धकतासत्त्वेनाव्याप्तिरित्यतो नेदं युक्तमिति वाच्यम् ॥ १६ ॥

असाधारण्याविषयकज्ञानेत्यनेन असाधारण्यविषयित्वाव्यापकविषयिताशून्यासाधारण्याविषयकज्ञानस्यैव विवक्षणीयतया दोषाभावात् । [1]वस्तुतस्तु निरूप्यनिरूपक-

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टि.—१. ह्रदो वह्निमान् वह्निव्यापकीभूताभावप्रतियोगिशैवालकालीनजलादित्यत्र असाधारण्ये अव्याप्तिः अतः वस्तुत इति ।

भावापन्नासाधारण्यविषयितात्वपर्याप्तावच्छेदकताकावच्छेदकत्वाभावज्ञानवैशिष्ट्यावच्छिन्नत्वोभयाभाव एव प्रतिबन्धकतायां निवेशनीयः इति न प्रागुक्तप्रतियोगित्ववज्जलेऽतिव्याप्तिः, न वा असाधारण्ये अव्याप्तिः। उक्तानुगतप्रतिबन्धकतायां तद्विषयितायाः प्रतिबन्धकविशेषणत्वविरहेऽपि प्रतिबन्धकतावच्छेदकतावच्छेदकसंबन्धघटकत्वात् अवच्छेदककोटिप्रविष्टानामवच्छेदकत्वाङ्गीकारात्। अथवा उक्तसंबन्धावच्छिन्नज्ञानत्वावच्छिन्नावच्छेदकत्वाभावस्यैव असाधारण्यविषयित्वानवच्छिन्नपदार्थत्वान्न दोषः ॥ १७ ॥

नचैवं सति ह्रदो वह्निमान् जलादित्यत्र वह्निव्यापकीभूताभावप्रतियोगिशैवालेऽतिव्याप्तिरिति वाच्यम् ॥ १८ ॥

ज्ञानवैशिष्ट्यावच्छिन्नप्रतिबन्धकतावच्छेदकत्वासाधारण्यविषयिताभिन्नत्वोभयाभावस्यैव यद्रूपावच्छिन्ननिरूपकताकविषयितात्वव्यापकतया विवक्षणीयत्वात् ॥ १९ ॥

नचैवं सति वह्न्यभाववद्ध्रदादावपि लक्षणगमनासंभवः धूमाभावावच्छेदकत्वेन वह्न्यभावावगाहिज्ञानवैशिष्ट्यावच्छिन्नप्रतिबन्धकतायां वह्न्यभाववद्ध्रदविषयिताया अपि अवच्छेदकत्वसंभवात्। यदि च अवच्छेदकधर्मदर्शनीयप्रतिबन्धकतायां न विषयिताया अवच्छेदकत्वं संभवति। सकलावच्छेदकधर्मदर्शनानुरोधेन ज्ञानविशिष्टज्ञानत्वावच्छिन्नाया अनुगतायास्तस्या वाच्यतया विषयितायाः प्रतिबन्धकविशेषणत्वविरहात्। तथाहि स्वीयधूमाभावत्वावच्छिन्नकिञ्चिद्धर्मव्यापकत्वविशेषितस्वरूपसंबन्धावच्छिन्नप्रकारतानिरूपितविशेष्यतावच्छेदकताविशिष्टप्रकारतानिरूपितह्रदत्वावच्छिन्नविशेष्यताकत्वसामानाधिकरण्यकालिकविशेषणत्वैतत्त्रितयसंबन्धेन। अवच्छेदकतावैशिष्ट्यं स्वावच्छेदकसंबन्धावच्छिन्नत्वस्वावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नत्वोभयसंबन्धेन। इत्थञ्च कथं वह्न्यभाववद्ध्रदाद्यसंग्रहः इत्युच्यते। तदा पाषाणमयत्ववत्पर्वतादावतिव्याप्तिरिति वाच्यम् ॥ २० ॥

ज्ञानवैशिष्ट्यानवच्छिन्नप्रतिबन्धकतानवच्छेदकत्वासाधारण्यविषयिताभिन्नत्वोभयाभावस्यैव व्यापकत्वविवक्षणात् ॥ २१ ॥

नच पर्वतो वह्निमानित्यादौ घटत्वावच्छिन्नेऽतिव्याप्तिः घटप्रकारकप्रत्यक्षेच्छाविशिष्टतादृशप्रत्यक्षसामग्र्याः पर्वतो वह्निमानित्यनुमितिप्रतिबन्धकत्वात् तस्याश्च घटचक्षुस्संयोग-

सहितघटज्ञानरूपत्वात् । अनतिरिक्तवृत्तित्वनिवेशे तु तादृशेच्छाद्यसमवहितज्ञाने प्रतिबन्धकत्वासत्त्वेनानुपपत्तिविरहादिति वाच्यम् ॥ २२ ॥

ज्ञानवैशिष्ट्यानवच्छिन्नेत्यनेन समवायद्वयघटितसामानाधिकरण्यसंबन्धावच्छिन्नावच्छेदकताकान्यत्वस्यैव विवक्षिततया दोषविरहात् ॥ २३ ॥

नच इष्टसाधनपाकत्वावच्छिन्नेऽतिव्याप्तिः इच्छासामग्र्या अनुमितिप्रतिबन्धकत्वात् तस्याश्च कृतिसाध्यताज्ञानसहितसिद्धत्वज्ञानाभावसहितपाकधर्मिकेष्टसाधनताज्ञानरूपत्वादिति वाच्यम् ॥ २४ ॥

अवच्छेदककोटिप्रविष्टानामवच्छेदकत्वे दोषविरहात् । कृतिसाध्यताज्ञानादौ फलेच्छावैशिष्ट्यस्यापि सामग्र्यन्तर्भावात् । अवच्छेदककोटिप्रविष्टानामवच्छेदकत्वानुपगमे तु प्रतिबध्यतायां अनुमितित्वानवच्छिन्नत्वं ज्ञानत्वावच्छिन्नत्वं वा निवेश्य उक्तानुपपत्तिर्वारणीया । अत एव सिद्धिविषयेऽपि नातिव्याप्तिः । अनुमितेर्बाधादिज्ञानप्रतिबध्यत्वं अनाहार्यज्ञानत्वेनैवेत्यन्यत्र स्थापितम् ॥ २५ ॥

न च तथापि पर्वतो वह्निमानित्यत्र वह्निमत्पर्वते अतिव्याप्तिः । वह्न्यभावप्रकारकपर्वतविशेष्यकनिश्चयस्य वह्नित्वावच्छिन्नप्रकारतानिरूपितपर्वतत्वावच्छिन्नविशेष्यतानिरूपकत्वाभावविशिष्टवह्न्यभावप्रकारकपर्वतविशेष्यकज्ञानत्वेनैव प्रतिबन्धकत्वात् अवच्छेदककोटिप्रविष्टानामवच्छेदकत्वपक्षे वह्निमत्पर्वतविषयितायाः अपि अवच्छेदकत्वादिति वाच्यम् ॥ २६ ॥

स्वरूपसंबन्धावच्छिन्नावच्छेदकत्वस्यैव निवेश्यत्वात् । यदि च तादृशविशेष्यतानिरूपकभेदोऽपि विनिगमनाविरहेण प्रतिबन्धकतावच्छेदक इति तत्र विषयितायाः स्वरूपसंबन्धेनापि अवच्छेदकत्वमस्त्येवेति विभाव्यते । तदा प्रतिबन्धकताविशिष्टावच्छेदकत्वमेव निवेश्यम् । वैशिष्ट्यं स्वसमानाधिकरणवृत्तित्वस्वनिरूपितत्वोभयसंबन्धेन ॥ २७ ॥

न च तथापि ह्रदो वह्निमानित्यत्र अवच्छेदकावच्छेदेन बाधाव्याप्तिः तत्र ह्रदत्वव्यापकत्वविशिष्टवह्न्यभावप्रतियोगिकस्वरूपत्वावच्छिन्नसांसर्गिकविषयतानिरूपकनिश्चयत्वेनैव

प्रतिबन्धकत्वात् । अन्यधर्मावच्छिन्नविशेष्यकज्ञाने ह्रदत्वव्यापकतायाः संसर्गतावच्छेदकतया भानविरहादेवातिप्रसङ्गभङ्गादिति वाच्यम् ॥ २८ ॥

संसर्गांशे ह्रदत्वादिना पदार्थान्तरावगाहिज्ञानसाधारण्यानुरोधेन निरूप्यनिरूपकभावापन्नविषयताया एव प्रतिबन्धकतावच्छेदकघटकतया तत्र वृत्तिविषयतायां ह्रदत्वावच्छिन्नसांसर्गिकविषयतानिरूपितत्वस्य स्वरूपत्वावच्छिन्नसांसर्गिकविषयतायां ह्रदत्वावच्छिन्नविशेष्यतानिरूपितत्वस्य वा निवेशः इत्यत्र विनिगमनाविरहेण ह्रदत्वावच्छिन्नविशेष्यतायाः प्रतिबन्धकतावच्छेदकत्वाक्षतेः ॥ २९ ॥

न च तथापि घटो वृत्तित्वसामान्याभाववानित्यत्र घटवति बाधे अव्याप्तिः घटत्वावच्छिन्नप्रकारताशालिज्ञानत्वेनैव प्रतिबन्धकतया घटवत्त्वावच्छिन्ननिरूपकताकविषयितायाः प्रतिबन्धकतावच्छेदकत्वविरहादिति वाच्यम् ॥ ३० ॥

प्रतिबन्धकतावच्छेदकतेत्यनेन प्रतिबन्धकतावच्छेदकविषयित्वावच्छिन्नत्वस्य विवक्षितत्वात् प्रतिबन्धकतावच्छेदकीभूतप्रकारित्वावच्छिन्नत्वस्य तत्र सत्त्वात् ॥ ३१ ॥

न च तथापि वृक्षः कपिसंयोगी इत्यत्र कपिसंयोगाभाववद्वृक्षे अतिव्याप्तिः । केवलस्वरूपसंसर्गकस्यापि अव्याप्यवृत्तित्वग्रहविरहावच्छिन्नस्य कपिसंयोगाभाववत्तानिश्चयस्य प्रतिबन्धकतायाः भट्टाचार्यैरसकृदुक्तत्वात् । अनतिरिक्तवृत्तित्वनिवेशे तु अव्याप्यवृत्तित्वग्रहद्वयमध्यपतितज्ञाने प्रतिबन्धकताया विरहान्न दोषः । ह्रदो वह्निमानित्यादौ तु अनवच्छिन्नविशेषणतया वह्न्यभाववद्ध्रदादेरेव दोषत्वं बाधग्रन्थे भट्टाचार्येणाभिहितमिति न तत्राव्याप्तिः । अव्याप्यवृत्तित्वग्रहकाले अनवच्छिन्नविशेषणतया वह्न्यभावप्रकारकज्ञानासंभवात् । ये तु केवलविशेषणतया वह्न्यभाववद्ध्रदादेरपि दोषत्वमिच्छन्ति ते अव्याप्यवृत्तित्वभ्रमाभाववैशिष्ट्यं निश्चये निवेश्य लक्षणं संगमयन्तः गुणः कपिसंयोगी इत्यत्र गुणे कपिसंयोगाभावः अव्याप्यवृत्तिरिति ज्ञानस्य उत्तेजकतां स्वीकृत्य कपिसंयोगाभाववद्गुणे लक्षणमुपपादयन्ति । अतः न अनतिरिक्तवृत्तित्वनिवेशकल्पे दोषः इति वाच्यम् ॥ ३२ ॥

भ्रमभिन्नावृत्तित्वस्य संसर्गतात्वविशिष्टत्वपर्यवसितस्य प्रकृतानुमितित्वव्यापकप्रतिबध्यतायां निवेशनीयतया दोषविरहात् । अन्यथा यादृशस्थलविशेषे अव्याप्यवृत्तित्वज्ञान-

द्वयमध्ये पक्षे साध्याभावज्ञानं कदापि नासीत् तत्रातिव्याप्तेर्दुर्वारत्वात् । संसर्गतात्ववैशिष्ट्यं स्वनिष्ठावच्छेदकताकप्रतियोगिताकभेदवत्त्वसंबन्धेन । स्वनिष्ठावच्छेदकता स्वनिष्ठावच्छेदकताकप्रतियोगिताकभेदवद्वृत्तित्वसंबन्धावच्छिन्ना । स्वनिष्ठावच्छेदकता स्वविशिष्टप्रकारतानिरूपकत्वसंबन्धावच्छिन्ना । प्रकारतायां स्ववैशिष्ट्यं स्वनिष्ठावच्छेदकताकप्रतियोगिताकभेदवत्त्वसंबन्धेन । स्वनिष्ठावच्छेदकता स्वाश्रयविशिष्टत्वसंबन्धावच्छिन्ना । वैशिष्ट्यं स्वनिरूपितत्वस्वाश्रयविशिष्टत्वोभयसंबन्धेन । वैशिष्ट्यं स्वप्रतियोगिनिष्ठत्वस्वानुयोगिनिष्ठविशेष्यतानिरूपितत्वोभयसंबन्धेन । ह्रदो वह्निमानित्यादौ केवलस्वरूपसंबन्धेन वह्न्यभाववद्ध्रदादावतिव्याप्तिरिति तु न । तस्य लक्ष्यत्वाभ्युपगमसंभवात् । बाधग्रन्थे पक्षान्तरे तस्य लक्ष्यताया अभिहितत्वात् । अत एव एतत्समानयोगक्षेमस्य प्रतियोगिव्यधिकरणवह्न्यभावाभाववद्वृत्तिमद्ध्रदस्यापि लक्ष्यत्वाभ्युपगमसंभवात् न तत्रातिव्याप्तिशङ्का । कथमन्यथा अव्याप्यवृत्तित्वशून्यजात्यभावकालीनः अभावः जातिमानित्यत्र केवलस्वरूपसंबन्धेन जात्यभाववत्तादृशाभावे प्रतियोगिव्यधिकरणजात्यभावाभाववद्वृत्तिमत्तादृशाभावे चातिव्याप्तिशङ्कावारणम् । एतेषां दोषत्वेऽपि अव्याप्यवृत्तिसाध्यकसद्धेतौ उक्तरीत्या दोषाप्रसक्तेः ॥ ३३ ॥

न चैवमपि प्रतिहेतुव्यापकसाध्याभावसमानाधिकरणप्रतिहेतुमत्पक्षरूपसत्प्रतिपक्षे अव्याप्तिः तदीयविषयितायाः ज्ञानवैशिष्ट्यानवच्छिन्नप्रतिबन्धकतावच्छेदकत्वविरहात् । यदि च ज्ञानवैशिष्ट्यानवच्छिन्नेत्यनेन ज्ञानवैशिष्ट्यावच्छिन्नत्वसत्प्रतिपक्षविषयित्वानवच्छिन्नत्वोभयाभावस्यैव विवक्षणीयतया न सत्प्रतिपक्षाव्याप्तिरित्युच्यते । तदा प्रतिहेतुमत्पक्षातिव्याप्तिरिति वाच्यम् ॥ ३४ ॥

ज्ञानवैशिष्ट्यानवच्छिन्नप्रतिबन्धकतानवच्छेदकत्वासाधारण्यविषयिताभिन्नत्वसत्प्रतिपक्षविषयिताभिन्नत्वैतत्त्रितयाभावे यद्रूपावच्छिन्ननिरूपकताकविषयितात्वव्यापकत्वस्य निवेश्यत्वात् ॥ ३५ ॥

न चैवमपि ह्रदो वह्निमान् धूमादित्यत्र जलव्यापकधूमाभावसमानाधिकरणजलवद्ध्रदधूमाभावाभावव्यापकीभूताभावप्रतियोगिजलवद्ध्रदाव्याप्तिः । बाधसत्प्रतिपक्षभिन्नाः

ये हेत्वाभासाः तद्व्याप्यानामपि तन्मध्ये एवान्तर्भूततया तस्य स्वरूपासिद्धिरूपत्वादिति वाच्यम् ॥ ३६ ॥

सत्प्रतिपक्षविषयिताभिन्नत्वस्थाने तादृशसमूहालम्बनानुमितिविरोध्यनुमितिजनकतानवच्छेदकत्वस्य निवेशनीयत्वात् । अनतिरिक्तवृत्तित्वनिवेशकल्पे विशिष्टद्वयाघटितत्वशरीरे एतन्निवेशावश्यकतया अत्र कल्पे गौरवाप्रसक्तेः । यद्यप्येवं सति मेयत्वविशिष्टव्यभिचारादिवारणाय निवेशितस्य विशिष्टान्तराघटितत्वस्य विशेषगुणवद्घटादिसंग्रहाय विशिष्टान्तरविषयितात्वाव्यापकत्वपर्यवसानेऽपि तद्दोषतादवस्थ्यम् । उक्तत्रितयाभावस्य विशेषगुणवद्घटविषयितायां गुणवद्घटविषयितायाञ्च वर्तमानस्य एकत्वात् तादृशाभावे विशिष्टान्तरविषयितात्वाव्यापकत्वासत्त्वात् । तथापि असाधारण्यविषयित्वावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगित्वज्ञानवैशिष्ट्यानवच्छिन्नप्रतिबन्धकत्वविरोध्यनुमितिजनकत्वान्यतमे यद्रूपावच्छिन्ननिरूपकताकविषयितात्वव्यापकत्वं विशिष्टान्तरविषयितात्वाव्यापकत्वञ्च निवेश्यम् । व्यापकता च अवच्छेदकतासंबन्धेनेति न दोषः इति ॥ ३७ ॥

नचैवं सति वह्न्यभावव्याप्यव्याप्यवद्ध्रदे अतिव्याप्तिरिति वाच्यम् ॥ ३८ ॥

तादृशानुमितिप्रतिबध्यानुमितिजनकताया एव विवक्षितत्वात् ॥ ३९ ॥

नचैवं सति ह्रदो वह्निव्याप्यवानित्यत्र वह्न्यभावव्याप्यवद्ध्रदेऽतिव्याप्तिः । वह्न्यभाववत्तानुमितेः वह्निव्याप्यवत्तानुमितिप्रतिबध्यत्वादिति वाच्यम् ॥ ४० ॥

प्रकृतपरामर्शप्रतिबध्यानुमितिजनकताया विवक्षितत्वात् । वह्न्यभाववत्तानुमितेः वह्निव्याप्यव्याप्यवत्तानिश्चयात्मकपरामर्शाप्रतिबध्यतया दर्शितदोषानवकाशात् ॥ ४१ ॥

नचैवं ह्रदो जलवान् वह्निव्याप्यादित्यत्र वह्न्यभावव्याप्यवद्ध्रदे अतिव्याप्तिः । अनुमितौ प्रकृतपरामर्शप्रतिबन्धकताया अपि निवेशे सत्प्रतिपक्षाव्याप्तिः बाधज्ञानस्य परामर्शाप्रतिबन्धकत्वादिति वाच्यम् ॥ ४२ ॥

तादृशानुमितित्वव्यापकप्रतिबध्यताविशिष्टजनकताया एव विरोध्यनुमितिजनकतापदेन विवक्षितत्वात् । वैशिष्ट्यं स्वावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नप्रतिबध्यतानिरूपितप्रतिबन्धकतावृत्ति-

भेदप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकत्वस्वनिरूपितप्रतिबन्धकतावच्छेदकविषयित्वावच्छिन्नानुमितिनिष्ठजन्यतानिरूपितत्वोभयसंबन्धेन। भेदप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकता स्वसमानाधिकरणभेदप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकतासंबन्धेन। तथाच वह्न्यभावानुमितिजनकताया अतथात्वान्न दोषः ॥ ४३ ॥

नचैवमपि वह्न्यभावव्याप्यव्याप्यवह्न्यभाववद्ध्रदे अतिव्याप्तिः व्यापकसामानाधिकरण्यरूपव्याप्त्यवगाहितद्ज्ञानीयानुमितिजनकतायाः प्रतिबन्धकताव्याप्यत्वात्। अनतिरिक्तवृत्तित्वनिवेशकल्पे तु विशिष्टान्तराघटितत्वविरहान्न दोषः इति वाच्यम् ॥ ४४ ॥

एकरूपेण जनकताभ्युपगमेन घटाभावव्यापकवह्न्यभावव्याप्यसमानाधिकरणघटाभाववानिति ज्ञानसाधारणजनकतायाः प्रतिबन्धकत्वाव्याप्यत्वात्। एकरूपञ्च धर्मविशिष्टाभावत्वावच्छिन्नप्रकारतानिरूपितह्रदत्वावच्छिन्नविशेष्यताशालिनिश्चयत्वम्। प्रकारतायां धर्मवैशिष्ट्यं स्वावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगित्वसंबन्धावच्छिन्नप्रकारतानिरूपिताभावत्वावच्छिन्नप्रकारतानिरूपितव्यापकत्वप्रकारतानिरूपितवह्न्यभावव्याप्यत्वावच्छिन्नप्रकारतानिरूपितसामानाधिकरण्यप्रकारतानिरूपितत्वस्वावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगितासंबन्धावच्छिन्नप्रकारतानिरूपितत्वोभयसंबन्धेन। यद्यपि प्रतियोगिवैयधिकरण्यघटिततदघटितव्याप्तिज्ञानयोः सिद्धान्तलक्षणे व्या-[1]प्त्यनुगमोक्तरीत्या एकरूपेण जनकत्वे जनकतायां प्रतिबन्धकताव्याप्यत्वं न संभवति। प्रतियोगिवैयधिकरण्यघटितव्याप्त्यवगाहिज्ञानप्रतिबन्धकतायां अव्याप्यवृत्तित्वज्ञानस्योत्तेजकतया प्रतिबन्धकताभेदात् कस्या अपि प्रतिबन्धकतायाः जनकताव्यापकत्वासंभवात्। तथापि अव्याप्यवृत्तित्वग्रहविरहावच्छिन्नप्रतिबन्धकतानवच्छेदकीभूतस्वावच्छेदकाभावत्वावच्छिन्नविषयताविशिष्टाश्रयतासंबन्धेन जनकतायां व्याप्यत्वस्य निवेशनीयतया न दोषः। अथवा स्वरूपसंबन्धेन जनकतां प्रति स्वावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नप्रतिबध्यतानिरूपितप्रतिबन्धकताविशिष्टत्वसंबन्धेन प्रतिबध्यताया व्यापकत्वविवक्षया न दोषः। वैशिष्ट्यं स्वरूपस्वावच्छेदकीभूताभावप्रतियोग्युपहितत्वान्यतरसंबन्धेन ॥ ४५ ॥

नच तथापि गगनाभाववदाधेयवत्कालीनगगनसाध्यके तादृशगगनाभावव्याप्यव्या-

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टि.—१. प्रतियोगिवैयधिकरण्याघटितव्यभिचारग्रहप्रतिबन्धकतावच्छेदकविषयितावत्त्वेनानुगमः।

प्यवत्पक्षे अतिव्याप्तिः । व्यापकसामानाधिकरण्यरूपव्याप्त्यवगाहिनिखिलज्ञानानामेव गगनाभावावच्छेदकत्वेन गृहीताधेयवत्तानिश्चयीयप्रतिबन्धकतावत्तया जनकतायाः प्रतिबध्यताव्याप्यत्वात्। अनतिरिक्तवृत्तित्वकल्पे तु विशिष्टान्तरविषयित्वाव्यापकत्वस्य प्रतिबध्यतायामसत्त्वेन न दोषः इति वाच्यम् ॥ ४६ ॥

स्वनिरूपितजन्यतावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नजन्यतानिरूपितजनकतासंबन्धेन जनकताया व्याप्यत्वविवक्षणात् व्याप्त्यन्तरावगाहिज्ञानेऽपि उक्तसंबन्धेन उक्तजनकतावत्त्वेन तत्रोक्तप्रतिबन्धकताविरहेण दोषविरहात् ॥ ४७ ॥

नच तथापि गगनाभाववत्प्रतियोगिमत्कालीनगगनाभाववदभावविशिष्टवत्कालीनगगनाभाववदभाववन्निरूपिताधेयताविशिष्टवत्कालीनगगनसाध्यके तादृशगगनाभावव्याप्याभावव्याप्यवत्पक्षे अतिव्याप्तिः। पक्षे गगनात्मकसाध्यसमानाधिकरणहेत्ववगाहिपरामर्शस्यापि प्रतिबन्धकत्वात् आधेयतायां अभाववन्निरूपितत्वोपादानमिति वाच्यम् ॥ ४८ ॥

साध्याभावव्यापकहेत्वभावप्रतियोगिहेतुमान्पक्षः इति ज्ञानस्य अनुमितिजनकतायां अवच्छेदककोटौ निरूप्यनिरूपकभावापन्नविषयताशालिनिश्चयत्वेन जनकतानिर्माणाय प्रतियोगित्वविषयताया अन्तर्भावेऽपि तादृशविषयतायां प्रतियोगितात्वावच्छिन्नत्वनिवेशे प्रयोजनविरहेण तदनिवेशात् साध्याभावव्यापकहेत्वभावाधिकरणहेतुमान् , तादृशहेत्वभाववृत्तिहेतुमान्, तादृशहेत्वभावविषयहेतुमान् इत्यादिज्ञानानामपि जनकत्वसत्त्वात् तत्र प्रतिबन्धकताविरहेणानुपपत्त्यभावात् ॥ ४९ ॥

नच तथापि आधेयत्वं गगनाभाववदभाववन्निरूपितत्ववत्कालीनगगनवदित्यादौ तादृशगगनाभावव्याप्याभावव्याप्यवदाधेयत्वे अतिव्याप्तिरिति वाच्यम् ॥ ५० ॥

तादृशानुमितित्वव्यापकप्रतिबध्यताविशिष्टजनकताया एव विरोध्यनुमितिजनकतेत्यनेन विवक्षितत्वात् । वैशिष्ट्यं, स्ववृत्तिभेदप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकत्वस्वनिरूपितप्रतिबन्धकतावच्छेदकविषयित्वावच्छिन्नानुमितिनिष्ठजन्यतानिरूपितत्वोभयसंबन्धेन । भेदप्रतियो-

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टि.—१. व्याप्यश्चासौ अभावश्चेति विग्रहः ।

गितावच्छेदकता स्वसमानाधिकरणभेदप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकत्वसंबन्धावच्छिन्ना । स्वाधिकरणत्वं स्वनिरूपितजन्यतावच्छेदकीभूतप्रकारताविशिष्टनिश्चयत्वसंबन्धेन । भेदप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकता स्वावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नप्रतिबध्यतानिरूपितप्रतिबन्धकतासंबन्धेन । निश्चये प्रकारतावैशिष्ट्यं स्वनिरूपिताधिकरणताविशिष्टत्वसंबन्धेन । अधिकरणता स्वविशिष्टप्रकारतानिरूपिताभावत्वावच्छिन्नप्रकारतानिरूपितनिरूपितत्वसंबन्धावच्छिन्नप्रकारतानिरूपितवृत्तित्वत्वावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगितासंबन्धावच्छिन्नप्रकारतात्वसंबन्धावच्छिन्ना । स्ववैशिष्ट्यं स्वावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नत्वस्वावच्छेदकसंबन्धावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगितासंबन्धावच्छिन्नत्वोभयसंबन्धेन । अधिकरणतावैशिष्ट्यं स्वाश्रयनिरूपकनिश्चयविशिष्टत्वस्वविशिष्टप्रकारतानिरूपकत्वोभयसंबन्धेन । निश्चयवैशिष्ट्यं सामानाधिकरण्यकालिकविशेषणत्वोभयसंबन्धेन । प्रकारतायां स्ववैशिष्ट्यं स्वाश्रयविशिष्टत्वस्वनिरूपकप्रकारतानिरूपितविशेष्यतावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नविशेष्यतानिरूपितत्वोभयसंबन्धेन । स्वाश्रयवैशिष्ट्यं स्वनिरूपिताभावत्वावच्छिन्नप्रकारतानिरूपितविशेष्यतावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नत्वस्ववृत्तिसंबन्धावच्छिन्नत्वोभयसंबन्धेन । वृत्तिश्च स्वनिष्ठप्रकारतानिरूपितावच्छिन्नत्वप्रकारतानिरूपितत्वसंबन्धेन । तथाच तादृग्गगनाभावव्याप्याभावाभाववदवृत्तित्वेन गृहीतधर्मवत्तानिश्चयस्याप्रतिबन्धकतया नोक्तदोषावसरः इति ॥ ५१ ॥

न च तथापि जलवद्ध्रदो वह्निमानित्यत्र वह्न्यभावव्याप्यजलव्याप्यवज्जलवद्ध्रदे अतिव्याप्तिरिति वाच्यम् ॥ ५२ ॥

स्वनिरूपितप्रतिबन्धकतावच्छेदकविषयित्वावच्छिन्नानुमितिनिष्ठजन्यतानिरूपितत्वस्य स्वविशिष्टजन्यतानिरूपितत्वरूपस्य निवेश्यत्वात् । वैशिष्ट्यं स्वनिरूपितप्रतिबन्धकतावच्छेदकविषयित्वावच्छिन्नत्वस्वविशिष्टानुमितिनिष्ठत्वोभयसंबन्धेन । स्ववैशिष्ट्यं स्वनिष्ठावच्छेदकताकप्रतियोगिताकभेदवत्त्वसंबन्धेन । स्वनिष्ठावच्छेदकता स्वविशिष्टविषयितासंबन्धेन । विषयितायां स्ववैशिष्ट्यं स्वनिष्ठावच्छेदकताकप्रतियोगिताकभेदवत्त्वसंबन्धेन । स्वनिष्ठावच्छेदकता स्वावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नप्रतिबन्धकतानिरूपितप्रतिबध्यतावच्छेदकत्वसंब-

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टि.—१. ह्रदो वह्निमानित्यादौ सत्प्रतिपक्षे लक्षणसमन्वयकाले निरुक्तसंबन्धेन जनकताधिकरणत्वं वह्न्यभावाभाववदवृत्ति जलमिति निश्चयविशिष्टे जलवान्ह्रदः इति निश्चये बोध्यम् ।

न्धेन । तथा च वह्न्यभावव्याप्यजलवत्ताज्ञानस्य वह्निमत्तानिश्चयाप्रतिबध्यत्वान्न दोषः ॥ ५३ ॥

न चैवमपि तत्रैव वह्न्यभावव्याप्यजलाभावव्याप्यवह्निकालीनत्वस्यापि पक्षविशेषणत्वे वह्न्यभावव्याप्यजलव्याप्यवत्तादृशपक्षे अतिव्याप्तिरिति वाच्यम् ॥ ५४ ॥

स्वनिरूपितप्रतिबन्धकतावच्छेदकविषयित्वावच्छिन्नपक्षतावच्छेदकविशिष्टानुमितिनिष्ठजन्यतानिरूपितत्वस्यैव निवेश्यत्वात् । अनुमितौ पक्षतावच्छेदकवैशिष्ट्यं स्वनिष्ठावच्छेदकताकप्रतियोगिताकभेदवत्त्वसंबन्धेन । स्वनिष्ठावच्छेदकता स्वविशिष्टविषयितासंबन्धावच्छिन्ना । विषयितायां स्ववैशिष्ट्यं स्वनिष्ठावच्छेदकताकप्रतियोगिताकभेदवत्त्वसंबन्धेन । स्वनिष्ठावच्छेदकता स्वविशिष्टभेदप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकत्वसंबन्धावच्छिन्ना । भेदे स्ववैशिष्ट्यं स्वविशिष्टप्रकारताविशिष्टत्वसंबन्धेन । प्रकारतायां स्ववैशिष्ट्यं स्वसमानाधिकरणेत्यादिभेदवत्त्वसंबन्धेन । स्वाधिकरणत्वं स्वावच्छिन्नविशेष्यतानिरूपितसाध्यतावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नप्रकारत्वसाध्यव्याप्यहेतुतावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नप्रकारत्वोभयनिरूपकत्वसंबन्धेन । भेदप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकता स्वविशिष्टविशेष्यतानिरूपकत्वसंबन्धेन । विशेष्यतायां स्ववैशिष्ट्यं स्वनिरूपितविशेष्यतावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नत्वस्वविशिष्टप्रकारतानिरूपितत्वोभयसंबन्धेन । स्ववैशिष्ट्यं स्वावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नत्वस्वावच्छेदकसंबन्धावच्छिन्नत्वोभयसंबन्धेन । स्वविशिष्टप्रकारताविशिष्टेत्यत्र प्रकारतावैशिष्ट्यं स्वविशिष्टप्रकारताविशिष्टत्वसंबन्धेन । प्रकारतावैशिष्ट्यं स्वावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगिताकत्वसंबन्धेन । स्ववैशिष्ट्यं स्वनिरूपितविशेष्यतावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नविशेष्यतानिरूपितत्वस्वनिष्ठावच्छेदकताकप्रतियोगिताकभेदवत्त्वोभयसंबन्धेन । स्वनिष्ठावच्छेदकता स्वसमानाधिकरणभेदप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकत्वसंबन्धेन । स्वाधिकरणता स्वविशिष्टप्रकारतानिरूपितविशेष्यतावच्छेदकतानिरूपकत्वसंबन्धेन । प्रकारतायां स्ववैशिष्ट्यं स्वावच्छेदकसंबन्धावच्छिन्नत्वस्वावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नत्वोभयसंबन्धेन । भेदप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकता स्वविशिष्टप्रकारताविशिष्टप्रतिबध्यतानिरूपितप्रतिबन्धकतासंबन्धेन । स्ववैशिष्ट्यं स्वावच्छेदकधर्मसंबन्धावच्छिन्नत्वसंबन्धेन । प्रतिबध्यतायां प्रकारतावैशिष्ट्यं स्वसमानाधिकरणेत्यादिभेदवत्त्वसंबन्धेन । स्वाधिकरणता भेदप्रतियोगितावच्छे-

दकता च स्वरूपसंबन्धेन। तथाच घटो वह्निमान् पटो वह्निमानित्यादिज्ञानानां घटो वह्न्यभावव्याप्यजलवानिति ज्ञानाप्रतिबन्धकतया नोक्तदोषावसरः इति ॥ ५५ ॥

न च तथापि जलवद्ध्रदः वह्न्यभावव्याप्याभावव्याप्यवह्निमान् इत्यत्र वह्न्यभावव्याप्यजलव्याप्यवज्जलवद्ध्रदे अतिव्याप्तिरिति वाच्यम् ॥ ५६ ॥

संबन्धघटकप्रतिबन्धकतायां ज्ञानवैशिष्ट्यानवच्छिन्नत्वनिवेशात्। यत्तु घटः अभावव्यापकीभूताभावप्रतियोगिगगनवानित्यत्र साध्याभाववत्ताबुद्धौ साध्यवत्ताज्ञानस्य ज्ञानविशिष्टज्ञानत्वेनैव प्रतिबन्धकतया सत्प्रतिपक्षाव्याप्तिरिति। तन्न। यतः अभाववत्ताबुद्धौ अभावाभाववत्तानिश्चयस्येव अभावाभावव्याप्यवत्तानिश्चयस्यापि न प्रतिबन्धकता विषयविरोधविरहात्। ततश्च अभावाभावव्याप्तिनिश्चयविशेषरूपस्य अभावव्यापकीभूताभावप्रतियोगिगगनवत्तानिश्चयस्य नाभाववत्ताज्ञानप्रतिबन्धकतेति तादृशगगनाभावबुद्धौ तादृशगगनवत्तानिश्चयस्य पृथगेव प्रतिबन्धकताया आवश्यकतया नोक्तदोषावकाशः इति दिक् ॥ ५७ ॥

नच तथापि घटो गगनाभाववदभाववत्कालीनगगनवानित्यत्र तादृशगगनाभाववद्घटरूपबाधाव्याप्तिः। तत्र क्लृप्तज्ञानवैशिष्ट्यावच्छिन्नप्रतिबन्धकतयैवोपपत्तौ तदनवच्छिन्नप्रतिबन्धकतान्तरे मानाभावात्। यत्तु अभाववति गगनाभावो व्याप्यवृत्तिरिति ज्ञानकालेऽपि विशिष्टगगनाभाववत्तानिश्चयस्य प्रतिबन्धकत्वानुरोधेन ज्ञानवैशिष्ट्यानवच्छिन्नप्रतिबन्धकत्वस्याप्यावश्यकतया नोक्तदोषावकाश इति। तन्न। अभावव्यापकत्वस्य प्रतियोगिवैयधिकरण्याघटितस्य संसर्गघटकत्वे अव्याप्यवृत्तित्वज्ञानस्य तत्रानुत्तेजकतया तत्र प्रतिबन्धकान्तरविरहेण इहाव्याप्तिसत्त्वादिति वाच्यम् ॥ ५८ ॥

तादृशसमूहालम्बनानुमितित्वव्यापकप्रतिबन्धकतानिरूपितप्रतिबध्यत्वघटितान्यतमे यद्रूपावच्छिन्ननिरूपकताकविषयितात्वव्यापकत्वस्य निवेश्यत्वात्। यद्यप्येवं सति वह्निव्या-

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टि.—१. अनुगमतात्पर्यम्—पक्षतावच्छेदकव्यापिका या प्रकारता ह्रदो वह्निमानिति ज्ञानीयवह्निप्रकारता तन्निरूपितविशेष्यतावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नविशेष्यतानिरूपिता तद्व्यापिका च या प्रकारता ह्रदो वह्न्यभाववानिति ज्ञानीया तदवच्छिन्नभेदप्रतियोगितानवच्छेदकविषयिताशून्यत्वमिति।

व्यसाध्यके वह्न्यभाववत्पक्षे अतिव्याप्तिः । तथापि तादृशप्रतिबन्धकताविशिष्टप्रतिबध्यताया एव निवेशनीयतया न दोषः । प्रतिबन्धकतावैशिष्ट्यं स्वावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नप्रतिबध्यतानिरूपितप्रतिबन्धकतावच्छेदकविषयित्वावच्छिन्नत्वस्वनिरूपितत्वोभयसंबन्धेन । तथा च वह्निव्याप्यवत्ताज्ञाने वह्न्यभाववत्ताज्ञानस्याप्रतिबन्धकतया न दोषः ॥ ५९ ॥

न च स्वावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नत्वं यदि स्वावच्छेदकतापर्याप्त्यधिकरणपर्याप्तावच्छेदकताकत्वं तदा असंभवः । यदि स्वावच्छेदकनिष्ठावच्छेदकताकत्वरूपं तदा तादृशज्ञानत्वावच्छिन्नत्वस्य सार्वत्रिकतया अव्यावर्तकता । स्वावच्छेदकविषयित्वावच्छिन्नत्वरूपत्वेऽपि वह्निव्याप्यवह्निमानिति ज्ञानीयविषयितामादाय वह्न्यभाववद्ध्रदातिव्याप्तितादवस्थ्यमिति वाच्यम् ॥ ६० ॥

स्वाश्रयानुमितित्वव्यापकप्रतिबध्यतानिरूपितप्रतिबन्धकताव्याप्यत्वस्वनिरूपितत्वोभयसंबन्धेन प्रतिबन्धकतावैशिष्ट्यस्य निवेश्यत्वात् । वह्निव्याप्याभाववद्वह्न्यभाववत्कालीनह्रदपक्षके वह्निव्याप्यसाध्यके वह्न्यभाववत्तादृशह्रदे अतिव्याप्तिस्तु पक्षद्वयेऽपि[1] समाना । यद्वा पक्षतावच्छेदकविशिष्टप्रतिबध्यतानिवेशान्न दोषः । पक्षतावच्छेदकवैशिष्ट्यं स्वविशिष्टप्रकारताविशिष्टत्वसंबन्धेन । प्रकारतायां स्ववैशिष्ट्यं स्वसमानाधिकरणेत्यादिभेदवत्त्वसंबन्धेन । स्वाधिकरणत्वं स्वावच्छिन्नविशेष्यतेत्याद्युभयनिरूपकत्वसंबन्धेन । भेदप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकता प्रागुक्तस्वविशिष्टविशेष्यतानिरूपकत्वसंबन्धेन । प्रकारतावैशिष्ट्यं स्वविशिष्टप्रतिबन्धकतानिरूपकत्वस्ववृत्तिभेदप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकत्वोभयसंबन्धेन । वैशिष्ट्यं स्वसमानाधिकरणेत्यादिभेदवत्त्वसंबन्धेन । स्वाधिकरणता निरूपकतासंबन्धेन । भेदप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकता स्वरूपसंबन्धेन । स्ववृत्तिभेदप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकता स्वसमानाधिकरणभेदप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकतासंबन्धेन । स्वाधिकरणता स्वरूपसंबन्धेन । भेदप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकता स्वविशिष्टविशेष्यतानिरूपकत्वसंबन्धेन । विशेष्यतायां वैशिष्ट्यं स्वनि-

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टि.—१. अनतिरिक्तवृत्तित्वनिवेशपक्षे विशिष्टद्वयाघटितस्वशरीरे बाधविशेषाव्याप्तिवारणाय प्रकृतानुमितिप्रतिबध्यतानवच्छेदकत्वस्य विशिष्टद्वयविषयितायां निवेशावश्यकतया तुल्योऽयं दोषपरिहारः ।

रूपितविशेष्यतावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नत्वस्ववृत्तिभेदप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकप्रकारतानिरूपितत्वोभय-संबन्धेन । अवच्छेदकता स्वसमानाधिकरणभेदप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकतासंबन्धेन । स्वाधि-करणता स्वविशिष्टप्रकारतानिरूपितविशेष्यतावच्छेदकतानिरूपकनिश्चयत्वसंबन्धेन । भेद-प्रतियोगितावच्छेदकता स्वविशिष्टप्रकारताविशिष्टप्रतिबध्यतानिरूपितप्रतिबन्धकतासंबन्धेन । प्रकारतायां स्ववैशिष्ट्यं स्वावच्छेदकधर्मसंबन्धावच्छिन्नत्वसंबन्धेन । प्रकारतावैशिष्ट्यं व्या-पकतासंबन्धेन ॥ ६१ ॥

न च तथापि ह्रदो वह्न्यभाववज्जलवद्वृत्तिजलाभावव्याप्यवह्निमानित्यत्र वह्न्यभाव-वज्जलवद्वृत्तिजलवद्ध्रदे अतिव्याप्तिरिति वाच्यम् ॥ ६२ ॥

स्वविशिष्टप्रतिबन्धकतानिरूपितत्वस्ववृत्तिभेदप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकत्वोभयसंबन्धे अन्त-र्गतस्ववैशिष्ट्यस्य स्वव्याप्यत्वरूपतया दोषविरहात् । शेषं विशिष्टद्वयाघटितत्वविचाररीत्या अवधेयमिति दिक् ॥ ६३ ॥

॥ इति अवच्छेदकतासारः समाप्तः ॥

टि.—१. प्रकारताद्वयेऽपीत्यर्थः ।

University Notes

FOUNDER'S DAY:

The Eleventh Founder's Day was celebrated on the 12th October, 1940. Sir R. K. Shanmukham Chettiar, Dewan of Cochin, delivered the address.

CONVOCATION:

The Tenth Annual Convocation was held on Saturday the 16th November, 1940. His Excellency Captain the Hon. Sir Arthur Oswald James Hope, Chancellor of the University, presided. Sir Lionel Leach, Chief Justice of the Madras High Court, delivered the address to the graduates of the year.

ENDOWMENTS:

1. Our Pro-Chancellor, Raja Sir Annamalai Chettiar, Kt., L.L.D. Raja of Chettinad, announced a gift of Rs. 12,500 to be utilised in the form of prizes. Of this Rs. 10,000 is to be set apart for the encouragement of Composition of Tamil Poems. The rest of the money is to be utilised for giving prizes in the names of (1) His Excellency Sir Arthur Hope, (2) Sir Lionel Leach, (3) Sir R. K. Shanmukham Chettiar and (4) Sir K. V. Reddi Naidu Garu. Apart from the original contribution he made to this institution by handing over three collegiate institutions and a handsome donation of Rs. 20 lakhs to form the nucleus of this University, our founder has been generous in giving various endowments from time to time. We are deeply grateful to him for his great munificence and generosity.

2. The Raja Raja Abhaya Kulasekara Chola Maharaja Memorial Endowment by His Holiness Srila Sri Kasivasi Swaminatha Thambiran Swamigal Avergal: (Thevara Tirumurai Prize and Publication of works of Tamil Literature and Grammar. Present Annual income Rs. 550+Rs. 1,250).

The object of the Endowment is to foster the growth of the Science of Tamil Music in the Thevara Tirumurais and publish works of Tamil Literature and Grammar.

This endowment was founded by His Holiness Srila Sri Kasivasi Swaminatha Thambiran Swamigal Avergal of Tiruppanandal to per-

petuate the memory of Raja Raja Abhaya Kulasehara Chola Maharaja Avergal, due to whose solicitude the Thevara Tirumurais have been preserved to the world.

The Endowment consists of 114·3 acres of wet and 4·72 acres of Dry land (i.e.) 118 acres 75 cents, in Kayalur, Melasethi, forming parts of vattoms 21 and 23 of Sirugudi and Kilmarudur of Kumbakonam Taluk, Tanjore District, now in the sole enjoyment of His Holiness. The present value of the property is Rs. 75,000 and the net annual income is Rs. 1,750 at present market rates. Rs. 500 out of this sum shall be set apart for a Prize and the rest shall be utilised for publication of Tamil Works of Literature and grammar.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Brown University, Rhode Island:

Selected topics in function theory of a complex variable by Otto Syasz.

Theory of abstract spaces by David Tamarkin

The Service

Lingnan Science Journal, Vol. 19, No. 1.

The Modern Student

The Empire Times

Madras Y.M.C.A. Bulletin

Subodin

Indian Swarajya

The Journal of the Greater India Society

A Journal of Indian Renaissance

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